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L E T T E R S.
FROM
C I C E R O
TO
CATILINE THE SECOND.

[Price Two Shillings.]

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L E T T E R S
FROM
C I C E R O
T O
CATILINE THE SECOND.

WITH
CORRECTIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

—But he abounds
In the division of each several Crime,
Acting it many ways. Nay, had he power, he would
Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the universal peace, confound
All unity on earth. SHAKESPEARE.

L O N D O N :
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MDCCLXXXI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SHOULD it be thought that the following Strictures have been written with too much asperity, let the licentious demeanour of the men, who are the objects of their censure, towards the Servants of the Public, be candidly considered. There have been no epithets too opprobrious, no language too gross and abusive, either for their declamations in Parliament,—for their harangues in their lawless Committees,—or for their seditious publications against those in whom the powers of the State are vested. The epithets “corrupt,” “treacherous, traitorous, tyrannical, despotic,” and, as if this world, with all its wickedness, did not afford a quality sufficiently foul, either for their mouths or their pens, they have travelled into the regions below for the word “diabolical.” All these, with a multitude of others of the same indelicate and slanderous complexion, have been unreservedly applied to the public Ministers, without even an exception to that person who is the *first in virtue* as well as *dignity* in the State; while, on the other hand, those exalted characters, which have been thus unjustly loaded with the grossest abuse, have demeaned themselves with a *decency* and *respect* towards these malicious defamers, to which neither their expressions nor actions

actions have given them the least claim. For abundant proof of these truths, the Reader need only to look into the republican pamphlets and daily papers, which have been impudently published under the walls of the Courts of Justice and the two Houses of Parliament.

Besides, when we see these men not content with having involved their country in mischiefs too great to be described, and which threaten the freedom and independence of the empire with ruin, still persisting in their schemes; when we see them, in strict imitation of their rebel brethren in America, and in direct violation of the spirit and established laws of the most excellent of all political institutions, rearing up and openly patronizing lawless and seditious Committees, in opposition to the established Councils of the State—Committees which have not only formed themselves into *permanent public bodies*, but have already assumed the rights of convening their members at their own pleasure—of sitting on their own adjournments—of taking into their deliberations the general affairs of the nation—entering into seditious resolves respecting those affairs, and openly avowing a design to change and overturn the establishments of the British State; I say, when every man who is not blind sees all this, it would be a *false delicacy indeed*, not to treat them with that *honest plainness* which is consistent with *truth*.

The rights and liberties of a great and a free people, are jewels too valuable to be lost through a shameful lethargy and timid silence. And therefore, when those liberties are thus invaded by *intestine* as well as *foreign enemies*, it is high time for the *virtuous and brave*, who wish to preserve the blessings of the English government, to call men thus *wickedly acting*, and *things thus destructive* of their future safety and happiness, by their proper names—to “cry aloud and to spare not;” that so the indolent may be roused from their lethargy, and, alarmed at the impending danger, may, unitedly, pursue the proper measures to pull down the rising HYDRAS before their powers shall be too great for resistance.

And what has Cicero done more? Nothing. He has only called Treason Treason, and a Traitor a Traitor; “A Cat a Cat, and Dick a Knave.” “J'appelle un Chat un Chat, et Ricard un Fripon.”

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L E T T E R S
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C I C E R O
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CATILINE THE SECOND.

L E T T E R I.

" Neque nox tenebris obscurare costus nefarios ; nec pri-
" vata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis tuæ
" potest." CICERO in CATILINAM.

Neither the shades of night can conceal *your traiterous as-
semblies* ; nor the walls of your house hinder the voice of *your
treason* from being heard.

CICERO'S ORATION against CATILINE.

ALTHOUGH, Sir, many ages have glided
away since I became divested of the incum-
brances of mortality, and passed into the ethereal
region of spirits, my attachment and affections
toward mortals remain unimpaired. Having been
accustomed to vindicate the innocent, to detect
hidden conspiracies against the common weal,
and to arraign the guilty culprit at the awful bar
of public justice, during my abode among men,

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I yet continue the friend to their civil rights—the guardian of their freedom and happiness : and by a natural impulse, I am led to watch over their public affairs, to fathom the councils of the wicked and ambitious, to unfold the secret designs of the traitor, and to guard the people against their meditated ruin.

I have felt as much distress, as is permitted Immortals to feel, at the reflection, that true civil liberty, the greatest and best gift of heaven to a people, is long since banished by the divine decree from every part of the globe except Great Britain. That liberty which Rome once enjoyed, and which I once preserved, and that which was so long the boast of Sparta, is no more ! And even that which has been so long the glory of Britons, which their ancestors have with so much wisdom, and at the expence of so much blood and treasure, transmitted down, seems, from the same degeneracy and folly of their posterity, fluttering on the wing, and about to take its departure for ever.

I do not pretend to penetrate into the secret and ultimate decrees of Heaven : Neither angels nor archangels are able to discover them. What therefore may be written in the sacred volumes of unerring wisdom respecting the dissolution of British freedom, is unknown, and must remain
unknown

unknown until the awful period shall happen. But this we both know, that virtue is the only sure defence of the civil rights and happiness of men. Without a due regard to its precepts, the life of mortals is a scene of horrors, and their end the beginning of lasting misery. *Kingdoms the most puissant shall lose their strength, and the most perfect structures of civil liberty be levelled in the dust.*

You, Sir, are a member of the only civil society remaining on earth, which enjoys real liberty. By the suffrages of your fellow-citizens you have lately been once more exalted to the supreme Councils of your country. By their confidence you are again become one of the guardians of their freedom and safety. How arduous the task! How important the duties! and how inexpressibly wicked must the heart of that man be who shall betray them, who shall sacrifice them at the altar of his own private gratifications and ambition!

I have often had occasion to look down with admiration on your superior abilities as an orator.—All agree that your invention is lively and profound—your language pure and elegant—and your elocution scarcely to be equalled in antient or modern time. Such is the art with which your matter and argument are connected, and such

the rapid fluency and plausibility with which they are delivered, that they flow from your tongue in all the beautiful ornaments of truth—captivating the weak and unguarded, and flashing a momentary conviction on the most intelligent. Possessed of such talents, what pity is it, that your conduct is not directed by virtue, and a love for your country! Were this the case, there are no public benefits which such talents might not produce. Like me, you might step forth and detect the wicked conspiracies which are at this moment forming against the freedom and safety of your country. You might drag the secret enemies of the public weal from their *nocturnal meetings*, to the bar of public justice. So should your country, already torn to pieces by factious cabals, be restored to peace; and yourself be loaded with all the honours and rewards which a just Sovereign, and a great and grateful nation, can bestow.

But, on the contrary, how dangerous to the rights of your fellow-citizens—to the order and safety of civil society, are such abilities, when in the possession of a mortal destitute of every public virtue! who, like the deaf adder, hears not the voice of Wisdom? That “thou art the man,” is universally confessed by every good and well informed person in the kingdom. To public mischiefs, too great to be described, those abilities

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have

have already secretly and even openly been applied. Driven to desperation by frequent disappointments, what can stop their progress? What can gratify their lawless and boundless pursuits? Insatiable in their nature, like the great womb of time, they can never be satisfied. And yet your aim is, to be established the guardian of the public safety. Like the wily FOX in the fable, you would assume the care and protection of those whom your insidious heart wishes to devour. Can it be supposed in the nature of things, that a man whose riot and extravagance know no bounds, and whose means, however immense, must be insufficient to gratify them, can be actuated by that wisdom and virtue which are necessary to manage the arduous affairs, and to insure the happiness, of a free and a great nation? Is there a nobleman in the kingdom who would make a man of such a character his steward? Is there a shopkeeper in London who would trust him behind his counter? There is not! Is it then possible that there can be any Briton of a sane mind, who can wish, that a wise Sovereign, earnestly desiring to maintain the dignity and freedom of his kingdom and people among nations, will ever commit them to such a man? Can he, consistently with his own maxims—maxims which he has adopted to preserve the public liberty and safety, entrust them to such a steward; subjecting himself and his people to all the mischiefs which must necessarily arise from his secret intrigues and seditious artifices?

You,

You, Sir, whose lively and brilliant abilities render you visionary, may expect it; but your expectation will prove as vain as that of the foolish rustic, who, wishing to cross an unfordable stream, expected it would soon be exhausted by its own current. But

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

CICERO.

L E T T E R II.

“ Fuit : fuit ista quondam in hac republica virtus, ut
 “ fortes viri acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam
 “ acerbissimum hostem coercerent.”

CICERO in CATILINAM.

There once was ; I say there once was, in this our commonwealth, such *patriot virtue*, that men were animated with a keener resentment against a *pestilent citizen*, than against the most *implacable foreign enemy*.

CICERO . ORATIONS against CATILINE.

U P O N a view of your past conduct in public life, I was naturally led into the general reflections contained in my first address. Henceforward, my strictures shall be more particular and pointed at your demeanor in the high trust reposed in you by your country.

He who deprives another of his property under a false token, has been justly ranked in the class of villains—and by the laws of your country deserves death. But how much more criminal is that man, who, possessed of superior art and abilities, wilfully prostitutes them to the purposes of seducing his fellow-subjects into mistaken and false notions respecting the public interest and safety—of perverting national truths—and of leading the great Councils of the State into measures, which must produce national disgrace and
 ruin !

ruin ! and that too, only to subserve the ends of his own private dissipation and lawless ambition ! Mankind, in no language, have yet invented a phrase emphatical enough to describe the enormity of his offence ; nor have the laws of any country provided a punishment adequate to his guilt.

Knowing this, you have a hundred times endeavoured to deceive and mislead the national councils in respect to the American rebellion. And so lately as in your speech of the 6th of October, in the H—e of C—ns, on the address to his Majesty, the utmost efforts of your oratory were displayed for that very purpose. In that speech, after taking notice of Mr. P——y's admission, that " America had justice on her side, and incurred no culpability *till the conciliatory propositions* were rejected to make room for a claim of " independence," you boldly affirmed, in contradiction to what Mr. P——y had said, " That " *America asserted that claim before the concessions of Great Britain—before the conciliatory propositions were brought into Parliament.*"

And upon this ground, without a blush in your countenance, and without the least sense of duty to your country, you proceeded, in a long declamation, to vindicate the principle of the American rebellion.

Now,

I have before me the votes of the House of Commons, and the proceedings of Congress, by which it appears, that the foundation upon which you erected your pompous harangue, is a *palpable untruth*. The first "conciliatory propositions" were brought into Parliament, and agreed on, the 20th of Feb. 1775. By these propositions it was declared, that if the Colonies would "grant their reasonable proportion of aids for the common defence, and to provide for their respective establishments, *Parliament would forbear to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only the duties necessary for the regulation of commerce: and that even the nett proceeds of these duties should be carried to the account of the colony complying with this conciliatory proposition.*" This condescension in the Government of Great Britain completely met the claims of the rebellious colonists, who had hitherto rested their complaints against the authority of Parliament, in the right of levying on the Colonies internal taxes; agreeing in the fullest terms to the right of levying duties necessary to the "regulation of commerce." On the 20th of May 1775, these propositions, having been officially communicated by Governor Franklin to the Assembly of New Jersey, were by that public body laid before the American Congress. At this time, and long after, the *claim of independence* was positively and unanimously, though insidiously, disavowed by

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the Congress themselves; and that in a variety of their public proceedings, viz.—In their resolve of the same day*—in their truly treacherous letter to the inhabitants of Canada †, and even in their petition to their lawful Sovereign ‡, to whose Government they had often sworn allegiance. Nor did their “claim of independence” make its appearance until the 4th of July 1776, thirteen months after these “conciliatory propositions” had been under their consideration, and more than ten months after they had rejected them as “unreasonable and infidious.”

To so zealous an advocate for congressional measures, for withdrawing our troops from America, and separating the two countries for ever from each other, in respect to their political interests, these facts could not possibly be unknown. How lost then to all sense of public virtue, and regard for the true interest of your country, must you be, who could attempt to mislead the national council, in a matter so momentous to the honour and safety of the community of which you are a member by birth, and to whose sovereignty you have often sworn allegiance!

* See the Proceedings of Congress of that day.

† See the Proceedings of Congress, May 29, 1775.

‡ See the Proceedings of Congress, July 8, 1775.

This,

This is a plain question : it will be readily understood by yourself and your fellow-citizens. And, therefore, I know that among your deluded friends you will endeavour to evade it. You will say, that you meant the propositions sent by the last commission. But this subterfuge cannot avail you. The propositions alluded to by Mr. P——y, were those I have mentioned. They were those to which you made a reply ; or otherwise your reply was shamefully insidious and nugatory. It was an insult on the good sense of every Gentleman to whom it was addressed. And these propositions, although your Sovereign, in order to prevent the effusion of blood and the horrors of a civil war, had lessened the dignity of Government, by condescending to offer terms to the rebellious, were not even considered by them, as a *ground of reconciliation and relief from their imaginary grievances*. They were *unjustly* and *insidiously* represented to the world, and rejected with a degree of *insolence and contempt*, which the just resentment of Britons never yet suffered to remain unpunished in the most powerful enemy.

Thus, it is evident from incontrovertible proof, that “ conciliatory propositions, as Mr. “ P——y observed,” *were rejected, to make room for a claim of “ independence,”* which was the great
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object of the seditious part of the Colonists, from the beginning of their contest with Great Britain. And therefore, keeping this great point constantly in their view, instead of acting as good subjects ought, and would have acted, they have not, to this moment, pointed out the mode of redress, nor even hinted at the relief which would satisfy them. They have not only avoided, but precluded every possible ground of reconciliation. They have, in every instance, abused and rejected the terms of accommodation held out to them—And, in their “declaration of rights,” made so early as the 14th of October 1774, their claims rested in *an exemption from the authority of Parliament, in all cases whatever**; thus beginning with, and uniformly and pertinaciously persevering in, a claim of independence upon the Parent State; to which they were indebted for their freedom and existence.

This truth has been repeatedly laid before the Public, and shall be soon made more fully manifest to the world, by documents and facts which cannot deceive. In the mean time, proceed, if you think proper, in your hitherto too success-

* See this famous Declaration in the Proceedings of Congress, which, though made in 1774, was secreted, and not published until late in the year 1775, and never transmitted to their Sovereign: and also Strictures upon it in a pamphlet entitled, “A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims, &c.” published by Wilkie in St. Paul’s Church-yard,

ful career of opposition to the measures of your Sovereign—in encouraging the rebellion in America, and the lawless and seditious associations and combinations in Britain—and in supporting and strengthening the hands of the common enemies of your country—But remember—a friend to that country will henceforth watch your machinations against it; and in future, no assertion, tending to its injury, shall drop from your fascinating tongue, which shall not be dissected, its sophistry and fallacy detected; and all your secret intrigues shall be exposed to the full view of your fellow-citizens, that they may guard against your seduction, and save themselves from that ruin, which, like another *Catiline*, you have long meditated against your country.

CICERO,

LETTER III.

“ *Nulla est enim natio quam pertimescamus ; nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano inferre possit. Domesticum bellum manet ; intus insidiæ sunt ; intus inclusum periculum est ; intus est hostis !* ”
CICERO IN CATILINAM.

For there is *no nation* which we have reason to fear ; *no king* who can make war against the ROMAN PEOPLE. But a *domestic war* still remains ; the *treason*, the *danger*, the ENEMY is WITHIN !
CICERO'S ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

IN my last I told you, that I should assiduously watch over your secret intrigues against the common-weal. I did not make that declaration with design to intimidate you into a belief of my power, but rather to convince you of it ; that your prudence, if such a virtue can possibly be blended with your vices, might direct you to desist from your bold opposition to the measures which are necessary to the public safety. It is not your ruin, but your reformation, I wish to effect. Rush not then too impetuously into an error, which in the end may prove so fatal to yourself. You will reflect, that, of old, the conspiracies of your predecessor could not, with all his art, be concealed from my penetrating eye.

Catiline

Catiline the First, like you, was plausible, rapid, and eloquent in his harangues.—Of illustrious birth, he lived without one spark of public virtue. Born to the possession of wealth, he became reduced to poverty and want by his vices and extravagance. Prodigal of his own, he coveted the wealth of his fellow-citizens. He meditated the proscription of the opulent, that he might place their riches in his own coffers; but not content with this, he even coveted the wealth of the Public. Determined to gratify his boundless ambition, as well as his insatiable avarice and rage for dissipation, he resolved to seize into his own hands the authority of the State. For these horrid purposes he held his secret cabals, *his nocturnal Committees and Associations*. Possessed of all the arts and intrigues of a FOX, he was hidden and secret in his designs. Yet such were my vigilance and activity, that though at that time my intellectual powers were loaded with the defects of mortality, by unremitting researches I penetrated into the inmost secrets of his conspiracy, dragged them from their dark recesses into light; compelled him and his colleagues to fly their country, and at length punished them in a manner their atrocious crimes deserved. Judge then what are the powers of my spirit, when unconfined by time, and limited to no space. What secret combinations can there be, to the discovery of which it is not competent? Judge, and tremble! for know;
that

that in a little while all those intrigues with the common enemy of your country, that secret correspondence, and that encouragement and support which have been given to rebellion by the leaders of a faction in Britain, will be laid open to the view of the people whose interest and safety they were intended to betray.

To convince you of these truths, know, Catiline, that I am not unacquainted even with your secret meetings in Warwick-Court, Holborn*.

Neither

* From the year 1774 to 1777, Mr. Livingston lodged a. No. 4. Warwick-Court, Holborn.—There are few places better adapted for secrecy and treason than this court and this house. Here *Catiline*, his noble uncle, his colleague of *St. Omer's*, with others of the faction, frequently met *Laurens*, *Livingston*, and *Dr. Franklin* in the night, sometimes dressed in disguise; and when it was either not convenient or not safe to meet, they corresponded with Mr. Livingston in cyphers. And here the plans of their future measures were finally settled. This done, Mr. Laurens and Dr. Franklin sailed for *America*, and sometime after Mr. *Livingston* for *France*, in order to carry the schemes thus concerted into execution. On *Laurens's* arrival at *Charles-Town*, he obtained a delegation to Congress; and from that moment he became the most inveterate and active rebel. As a proof of this truth, I shall mention one anecdote. There had been a long subsisting friendship between Mr. Laurens and Mr. Fisher of Philadelphia.—The former, when in that city, had often, before the rebellion, made the house of the latter his home.—He lodged there for several months, and had received every proof of friendship and

cordial

ther the house nor room in which your nocturnal cabals were held, and your seditious plans were concerted, nor the persons you met, are unknown. In this place, which was in every respect calculated for black conspiracy, your *Gallic Uncle*, and your *Colleague of St. Omer's*, with others of your faction, frequently met the late *President of the Rebel Congress*, now in the Tower—*Dr. Franklin*, the present Rebel Ambassador at the Court of France—and *Mr. Livingston*, now a zealous Rebel in America. Here the plans of your sedition were concerted, and finally settled; and here you assumed your respective characters in your intended tragedy. This done, Dr. Franklin and Laurens

cordial hospitality.—When the Congress returned to Philadelphia, after its evacuation by the British troops, Mr. Fisher waited on his old friend—determined to avoid any conversation on politics:—But Mr. Laurens dragged him into it; and at length said, with a sneer, that he supposed he, Mr. Fisher, “would now give up his King.” Mr. Fisher being a firm Loyalist, and rather a warm man, more hastily than prudently replied: “No, he had not, nor ever would, and yet “hoped that his King would still be King of America.” These words Mr. Laurens soon reported to Mr. Joseph Reed, the President of the Executive Council; a man the second only in murders and treason to Livingston, the rebel Governor of New Jersey. Mr. Fisher, a Gentleman of the fairest character, was apprehended for High Treason—compelled to give 10,000 l. bail, and escaped not without much interest, from suffering death. This anecdote is given as an instance of Mr. Laurens's enmity to his Sovereign, and of his ingratitude and infidelity to his friend, and to prove that he was the most proper instrument the faction could have found to promote their sedition.

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failed for America, and Livingston for *France*, in order to carry into execution your intrigues with rebels and the common enemy of your country, while you remained in Britain to oppose, enfeeble, and, if possible, to obstruct every measure which should be proposed for the safety and happiness of your country.

Nor am I less acquainted with the secret intrigues of the *Admiral* lately high in command, and as high in the confidence of his Sovereign and country; but who, by his notorious indolence in his naval operations, is become the contempt of a well informed people; an Admiral, who has, with great fidelity and ignoble servility, drawn with his Brother in the yoke fixed on their necks by your faction; a faction as treacherous to them as to your country. For you have already deserted them, and left them to that fate, which is, in strict justice, more properly due to the atrociousness of those crimes, of which you have seduced them to become the accomplices. I know the *Howe* by whom your *Admiral's* intrigues with that arch-rebel *Dr. Franklin*, were sought and effected. I know perfectly well the whole secret of the invitation to a game of Chefs*, given to the Doctor, through a third person,

* In the year 1775, the Admiral being a stranger to Doctor Franklin, adopted the following stratagem to effect an inter-

person, by a Lady who was an utter stranger to the Doctor, and his consequent introduction to her noble Brother the Admiral; even the minutes of the intrigues which were concerted under the disguise of the game of Chess have been laid before me. But I shall forbear, at present, to mention the particulars. My compassion, from

interview. His sister is a great player at Chess. The Doctor also plays the game well. A gentleman acquainted with him was sent with a challenge to the Doctor, informing him that a lady of distinction, naming the sister, had heard of his fame, and wished to try his skill at a game of Chess. The Doctor was too well bred to refuse a lady's challenge.— A meeting took place, and the game was played. I am not informed which of the parties left the field triumphant; however, this game begat another interview, at which, with the Doctor's consent, the Admiral was introduced to his afterwards "dear" friend. Many subsequent meetings succeeded. And from this time the General's qualms respecting the command in the American war vanished; and in violation of his solemn promise to his Nottingham Electors, he indirectly solicits and accepts it, and his Noble Brother the Admiral joins him in it. The faction, who before were "averse" to the American war, now wait on him and compliment him on the occasion; and the plans of their *future opposition to the measures of their Sovereign* were finally settled. Whether the operations of the General and Admiral have not been conducted with much more conformity to the wishes and designs of Doctor Franklin, and his friends in Parliament, than to their duty to their sovereign and country, is to be seen in the pamphlet intitled "Letters to a Nobleman, &c." "A Reply to Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe's Observations," and "A Letter to Lord Viscount H-we."

the nature of my existence, will ever prevail on me to prefer mercy to justice. And I am led to this by some late marks of penitence shewn by this deluded and unfortunate nobleman, *unfortunate only through your treacherous seduction.*

The letter insidiously written by a *noble Earl* deep in your treason, to a gentleman of the first weight and influence in Maryland, in order to induce him to take part in your sedition, but whose loyalty was too firm for seduction; and that inhuman letter written by your colleague of St. Omers, advising the imprisonment of every subject who was faithful to his sovereign, with many other things of the same treasonable nature, are not unknown to me.

Nor am I a stranger to the artifices of your faction, in concealing, in the beginning of the American discontent, their seditious letters to the zealots for rebellion. You know (for if you had a spark of public virtue left, I would even appeal to you), that they were secreted in the buttons of a coat made for that purpose in London, and worn by the person employed to carry them; the brother to that wretch whose heart is a *Temple** replete with conflagrations, murders, and

* This man is the most insidious and audacious rebel that exists. He does not hesitate, in his daily conversation, to boast

and treason;—a wretch, who afterwards was intrusted with, but betrayed the cause which he

boast of his principles. In 1778, when he accepted of a trust, engaged to use his endeavours to accommodate the dispute between the two countries, and went to America for that purpose; on his arrival at Boston he treacherously informed the rebels whatever they wished to know respecting the state of Great Britain, and advised them not to negotiate, but to insist on their independence, and assured them that Great Britain would soon be obliged to grant it. He is very intimate with many of the factious noblesse.

From Boston he passed through the Colonies to Philadelphia, giving the same perfidious advice to the people of each province. He carried letters from the rebel Governor Trumbull to the rebel Commander in Chief, and from him to the rebel Congress, warmly recommending him as a friend to their cause; and was treated by those men, who would have put him to death had he been faithful to his Sovereign, with every mark of kindness and hospitality. See the letters from Trumbull to Washington, and from him to the Congress, lately published in the Morning Post. For some time before the late mob in St. George's Fields, he was the constant attendant, and one of the advisers, of the unhappy Nobleman in the Tower for high treason; and after the petition was presented, he was constantly with his Lordship twice a day, and had left him only a short time before he was arrested. He had an intimate colleague, who, while he attended his Lordship, was to perform the executive part of the business. This wretch was a constant declaimer at the seditious, though profanely called patriotic, clubs. He led the mob to the destruction of Lord Mansfield's house, and in several other places, and continued with them until he heard the firing of musquetry at the Bank; when he instantly fled with his wife at two o'clock at night, and passed over to Holland, where he has remained ever since.

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had sworn on the Holy Evangelists to support ;— who was the active and constant adviser of the unhappy Nobleman now in the Tower for high treason, and principally concerned in raising a mob to murder the guardians of the public welfare, and to lay the capital city of the nation in ashes. Can it be possible? It is too incredible to relate! And yet, this wretched, this murderous traitor, with an audacious effrontery equalled by none but your own, at liberty and unmolested, walks the streets of that very city which he would have laid in ashes.

By these intrigues, you and your associates became the joint conspirators against the common weal and safety of your country, and firmly united with the seditious part of America in one COMMON REBELLION. I say, Catiline, that at the very times, and in the very places, and through the intrigues of the very persons I have mentioned, all of them, and many more, at this moment the aiders and abettors of your sedition, *the plan of American rebellion, and of your and their treasonable opposition to the measures of your Sovereign, became finally adjusted.*

One of your treasonable letters was written, immediately after you had settled your plans, by a Commoner, who had been a Governor of one of the provinces in America, and then held the high
office

office of a British Senator, but who has been lately degraded by his fellow-citizens from that important trust. This man, from the year 1769, held a constant correspondence with one of the most inveterate rebels in Boston. With a constancy, equalled by nothing but the blackness of his treason, he has not ceased, by a great number of Letters, the originals of which are now in Britain, to blow the coals of sedition, and to feed the flame of rebellion. The letter I intend at present to communicate, contains the great outlines of, and, in truth, *the very system which the leaders in rebellion, in conformity to its directions, have ever since literally pursued.* But why should I communicate this letter to you? you, who knew, and finally settled its contents, before it was transmitted to your rebellious colleagues in America! It is to convince you, and your fellow-conspirators, that your and their treason is discovered; and that there are means by which it will be soon yet further unfolded to every sensible and disinterested man in the nation, whose morals are untainted by your delusive arts and seditious principles.

The letter written and published in America, to prevail on the deluded colonists to adopt the plan of your faction in Britain, is in these words:

“ I persuade myself your countrymen are not
 “ so contaminated with the *effeminacy* of this
 “ nation,

“ nation, not to see that this is the *important*
 “ *crisis*, when they ought to make a *solemn, ful-*
 “ *len, united, and invincible stand* against the *cruel,*
 “ *tyrannous, and ruinous system of policy* adopted
 “ and exercising by this legislature, against the
 “ rights and freedom of America; and let me
 “ add, that if the *deputies of the several Provinces,*
 “ when convened in Congress, do not, *one and*
 “ *all,* firmly resolve to establish, through every
 “ county and township in their respective pro-
 “ vinces, a *solemn league and covenant,* and
 “ under an *oath or affirmation,* not to *purchase*
 “ *or to use the manufactures of this country*
 “ (save what are collected already within the
 “ province), and if possible not to export *any*
 “ *provisions to the West India Islands,* and at
 “ the same time do not *religiously resolve to*
 “ *meet again in Congress once in every six months,*
 “ for the purpose of forming a suitable plan
 “ for securing American rights and freedom, *our*
 “ *children* will be irremediably deprived of that
 “ inheritance of liberty which *our* forefathers
 “ carefully and *piously* transmitted to us.”

In what, Catiline, did the “cruelty, tyrann-
 ny, and ruin of this system of policy” consist?
 Was this unjust calumny, a calumny invented
 to support your deep-laid plan of sedition, cast
 on the mildest and most just measures of your
 country, founded on any thing else than the
 fictions

fictions of your associates and abettors? Was it either "cruel, tyrannous, or ruinous," to oblige the Americans to pay a small proportion only of what in all equity they ought to pay towards the support of their own civil establishments and the national defence?—Was this unjust? was it not necessary to their own safety? Are not the Americans subjects of the British State? Has not the State in all things treated and acted towards them as such; and have they not by a thousand documents uniformly acknowledged themselves such subjects, from the dawn of their settlement to the moment of their declared independence?

Tell me further, thou faithful and bold asserter of the cause of rebellion, did they not, at a time when they confessed in their humble supplication to their Sovereign, that they could not protect themselves, implore the aid and protection of that Parliament against whose authority they have now rebelled? And were not that aid and protection immediately sent, and these ungrateful men, at an immense expence of the blood and treasure of Britons, saved from the conquest and tyranny of that very Monarch, with whom they are now perfidiously combined against the Parent State, which with indulgent care reared them in their infancy, and

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which had so lately saved them from utter destruction?

In this great struggle for their liberty and safety, what part did they act? Did they not, when solicited by the British Minister, and when retributions were offered to allure them to the most important of all civil duties, refuse those aids which were necessary to their own defence? And were not the taxes of Britons, and the numbers of her armies increased, to make up the deficiency.

Afterwards, when a succeeding Minister offered to drop the Bill for raising a stamp duty in America, provided the colonists would grant, in their own assemblies, their reasonable aids towards the support of their own civil establishment and the national defence; did they not again refuse to contribute their just proportion, or indeed one farthing towards them, leaving their fellow-subjects in Britain to labour under an unjust burthen, which they themselves in equity and good conscience ought to have sustained? Was this acting consistently with the duty of citizens and subjects? Or could the State, with any principle of justice and equity, longer permit Britons to lavish their blood and

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wealth,

wealth, and to be " the hewers of wood and " drawers of water" for the Americans.

Not to oppress—not to injure, much less to reduce them to slavery, as you and your faction have a thousand times impudently and falsely asserted; but to induce them to do equity to Britons, the Tea act, the pretended cause of that rebellion you have so often vindicated, was passed; and this act you and your colleagues in sedition on both sides of the Atlantic have concurred in styling " a cruel, tyrannous, " and ruinous system of policy."

If this act was " cruel," wherein does the cruelty consist? Was it cruel to impose 3d. per pound on teas imported from Great Britain into America, and, at the same time, to relieve the Colonists from the payment of 1s. per pound in Britain? If it was " tyrannous," it was that kind of tyranny which your ancestors had exercised over the Colonies from the first dawn of their settlement, without objection or complaint.—And it was that tyranny which you yourselves thought just and equitable, after twelve months consideration, when you voted for the stamp act. If it was " ruinous," it was only so in your opinions, because it tended to lay a foundation of relief for your fellow-subjects in Britain, from the unjust

burthens they have long borne to protect the Americans. These are all truths, too notorious even for a *Catiline* to deny.

And yet it is upon this very ground, for no other have you taken, that you justify the Americans, in denying the supreme authority of the society of which they acknowledge themselves to be members, and in refusing to be represented in that authority; although that representation would at once remedy all their pretended apprehensions, and give them the same freedoms which Britons enjoy. It was upon this ground you advised the Americans "to establish in every county and township, a *solemn league and covenant on oath*," not to "purchase or use the manufactures of Britain," thereby to reduce to a state of bankruptcy the manufacturers of your own country; and it was upon this ground the Americans were advised "not to export any provisions to the West Indies;" thereby to starve those innocent islanders, altogether unconnected in the dispute. It was upon this ground you advised the Americans "religiously to resolve to meet in Congress, for forming a suitable plan"—for resisting the necessary and constitutional rights of *your own country*. It was upon this ground you declared to them, that they ought to make a "fullen, solemn, united, and invincible stand," against that State of which
you

you were members, and which had expended upwards of fifty millions in their protection. And it is upon this ground only that you are, with the most audacious effrontery, vindicating the principle, and uniformly opposing the suppression of a rebellion, the most groundless and unjustifiable that ever has been produced in the annals of mankind.

Is it possible, that Britons cannot—will not—see through the flimsy veil of your artifices? Can it be possible, that, with their good sense, their manly virtue, their desire to be just—just to themselves, and therefore just to all the world—they cannot perceive the fallacy, the wickedness, and fatal tendency of your more than sacrilegious designs?

By your aid and encouragement, the spark of sedition, which must soon have expired through its own weakness, has been kindled into a flame, that has endangered the freedom and safety of the British empire; for, encouraged by these uncommon services so faithfully performed, and assured of your future assistance, they have twice attempted to incite a rebellion in the heart of Great Britain*, and once in Ireland†. In full confi-

* See the seditious Letters from Congress to the people of Great Britain, in their printed Proceedings, dated October 21, 1774, and July 8, 1775.

† See the seditious Letter from Congress to the people of Ireland, in their printed Proceedings, dated July 28, 1775.

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dence of your protection, they have appointed spies within the bosom of your country, with orders to give " the earliest information of all such " conduct and designs of Ministry or Parliament, " as might concern America to know, and as " they might judge to be of importance in this " great contest *." And supported by your daily intrigues, and your seditious opposition to the exertions of your Sovereign, they have allied themselves with the perfidious and common enemy of your country! And that enemy, encouraged by your unprincipled opposition, and by the disunion and weakness in the exertions of the State, occasioned only by such opposition, have declared war against your Sovereign.

For these services you have received the " grateful acknowledgments" of the rebel Congress, who, to secure your future aid, have stiled you the " truly *noble, honourable, and patriotic* ADVOCATES, who have so generously and *powerfully* " *espoused and defended the cause of America*, both " *in and out of Parliament* †." And again, the same Congress, " deeply sensible of the powerful " aid their cause must receive from such powerful advocates," have paid to your Faction,

* See the printed Proceedings in Congress, July 8, 1775.

† See the Vote of Congress in their printed Proceedings, October 24, 1774.

" their

“ their tribute of gratitude and thanks for the
 “ virtuous resentment ” ” which you had shewn
 to the measures of the British legislature. Such
 are the important services which you have per-
 formed for rebels and the enemies of your coun-
 try ; and such the *honourable* applause you have
 received as a reward for them. But know, that
 however honourable you and your faction may
 esteem these testimonies of your merit, those
 services are so many wounds to your country,
 at which its blood and treasure are flowing out
 apace.

Proceed, then, in your nefarious resolve to
 ruin your country, in hope of “ riding in the
 “ whirlwind and directing the storm.” But re-
 member, that you have impudently threatened
 the best friends of the Public with impeach-
 ments and the block. Remember too, there
 is a Tower, where that man who was loyal
 when you first met him, but who, before you
 parted, became a determined rebel, is at this
 moment in safe custody. Little did he think,
 when he embarked for Holland, that his destina-
 tion, written in the book of fate, was the Tower
 of London. As little, I fear, do you now sus-
 pect, what may be soon your own fate. But be

* See the Letter to the Lord Mayor and Livery of London,
 in the printed Proceedings of Congress, July 8, 1775.

assured,

affured, that justice, though often slow, is always certain; and that, by its eternal decrees, the conspirator against the public weal, sooner or later, shall receive the reward of his superlative wickedness.

CICERO.

L E T T E R I V.

“ Non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum—
 “ interemptum esse Lucium Catilinam, et gravissimo sup-
 “ plicio affectum, jampridem oportebat—idque a me et mos
 “ majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et respublica, postu-
 “ labant.”

CICERO in CATILINAM.

No, Romans, it is the fault of the times—Catiline, *in justice*, ought long ago to have suffered the *last punishment*:—the custom of our ancestors, the discipline of the empire, and the interest of the republic, require it.

CICERO'S ORATIONS against CATILINE.

THINK not, Catiline, that the proofs I have already laid before your fellow-citizens are all that I am and shall be possessed of—My researches are penetrating yet further into your *secret correspondence* with rebels, and your *intrigues* with the *common enemy*; and just information of your schemes is daily pouring in upon me. Besides, the actions of men speak louder and plainer than words; and when they are fully investigated, they infallibly point to the most secret schemes of the heart—Thus your actions, and those of your confederates, speak louder and plainer than all your patriotic declamations, and fair professions of love for your country.—In them the lion appears through the ass's skin, the FOX through the unspotted garb of the innocent lamb; and therefore an investi-

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gation of your conduct, and my authentic information compared together, shall be the sources from whence I will draw the evidence of your guilt.

When I survey your conduct from the commencement of the American sedition, I have full proof that Catiline loves rebellion more than he does his Sovereign; and therefore he vindicates the former, and daringly and incessantly opposes the latter.—Catiline loves the common enemy more than he does his country; and therefore he encourages that enemy, and with a steady uniformity of conduct endeavours to frustrate the means by which alone the honour and safety of his country can be maintained against that enemy,—Catiline loves public confusion more than union and public order; and therefore he never fails to exert all his powers, both secretly and openly, to distract the public Councils, and to obstruct their execution; and even that too, at a time when nothing can save his country but *unanimity in council, and vigour in execution.*

Your deep-laid scheme of withdrawing the troops from America, in order to give independence to rebels, and to weaken the empire, by dismembering it of by far the greater part of its dominions;—your wicked attempts to wrest from your Sovereign his constitutional right of appointing

appointing his own servants, and to compel him to place you and your confederates in their offices, that you and they may command the purses, and riot in the wealth of your fellow-citizens ;—and the horrid design of your faction, to bury in one general conflagration the capital of the British empire, have all been happily frustrated by the firmness of your Sovereign, and the vigilance and wisdom of his Ministers. One would have imagined that, knowing this, you would have seen the folly, if not the atrociousness, of your plots, and, dismayed at the prospect, have desisted from further conspiracies against the welfare of your country. But, Catiline, your dissipation knows no bounds, your thirst for power no end, your conscience no sensibility ; and you are determined, like your predecessor of Rome, not to stop in your career of folly and wickedness, until the cup of your iniquity shall be full, and the hand of heaven shall interpose to save your country from the ruin you meditate against it.

At the moment of my address to you, you are contriving the means of reviving the sinking spirit of rebellion, and of supporting the inveterate enemy of your country ! The information I have received, and your own conduct, will prove it, and condemn you in the judgment of your impartial fellow-citizens. This information I shall

communicate to them through you, in this and my subsequent letter; not under the least hope of working out your reformation, but to guard them against your intrigues, and the dangers and distresses that may flow from them, unless happily prevented.

The following is a genuine extract of a letter from a Gentleman of undoubted veracity at New York, dated the 20th August 1780:

“ I shall conclude this account of the Jersey
 “ expedition with the following authentic anecdote.—Col. *** arrived with Sir Henry Clinton, and joined the army in Jersey. A servant
 “ of his, who had the care of his baggage, was
 “ taken prisoner by the rebels, and all the Colonel’s letters fell into their hands. The letters
 “ were examined; among them was found a
 “ sealed packet with this indorsement, *This not to*
 “ *be opened but in case of Col. ***’s death.* From
 “ which the rebels concluded it must be his *Will*,
 “ and did not break the seal. A few days after,
 “ Col. *** received a letter from a rebel officer,
 “ enclosing the packet, and informing him, ‘ that
 “ from a regard to his personal gallantry, but
 “ *CHIEFLY from the circumstance of his being the*
 “ *BROTHER of their good friend ****** *** , and
 “ Nephew to their ILLUSTRIOUS ADVOCATE AND
 “ PATRON

"PATRON the Duke of *****, he (the rebel officer) did himself the honour of transmitting to him (the Colonel) the enclosed packet, supposing it to be his Will.

"The carrying private letters from a place of safety into a camp, in an enemy's country, not one mile distant, and the capture of the servant who had these letters in his possession, are queer circumstances: And I think this anecdote should be made public, that the good friend, and the illustrious advocate and patron of the rebels, may not be deprived of the honourable testimony of *their merit* contained in it; and it will doubtless raise them still higher in the esteem of their brethren the *super-illustrious Patriots of the Minority*."

Marked as the transaction described in this extract is with secrecy, it is not difficult to unravel it. In every step the truth appears too powerful for the disguise. Your brother went from you, the "*friend*" of the American rebels in London, to Carolina—thence to New York, and from New York to Staten Island. Whatever estate your brother possessed, *if he really had any*, he left in England, and, with it, you and his other relations and friends, to whom he would naturally bequeath it. His will would have been safe either in London, Staten Island, or New York. If, there-

therefore, the *sealed packet* was really his will, made before his departure, his prudence would have left it in London; if made in America, he would have left it at New York, or Staten Island; in the first-mentioned place, it would have been secure from the dangers of the ocean and of war, and in the second and third, from the capture of the enemy.—The same prudence would have left his private and confidential letters from his friends in the same places of safety. The “sealed packet,” therefore, did not cover your brother’s will; though, from the deceptive indorsement, it bore that disguise, but was intended as a *cover to his and your secret designs, and those of your faction*; nor were the *private* letters taken from his servant by the rebel officer, letters to him from his friends in Britain, but to *his and your American “friends;”*—those friends who have fulsomely styled you, in their congressional thanks for your numerous and faithful services, “their truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocate;”—and *those friends* whose treasonable practices you have supported from the first dawn of their insurrection to the present moment.

Catiline, tell me, if the “*sealed packet*” really contained your brother’s will, as the endorsement imported; and if the letters captured were really “private letters” from his friends in Britain, why did he, as a prudent man, commit them to
his

his servant? Why did he, as a soldier, contrary to all usage, encumber his servant with them, from places of safety, into the scene of war and danger? And if they were even letters from yourself, containing your daily abuse of the Ministers of the Public, and your intended opposition to the measures of your Sovereign, why were they, under the shade of carelessness, carried into the hands of the rebels, unless it was to communicate to them what they ought not to know; and to enable them to avail themselves of your secret machinations in their favour, against the safety of your country?

Tell me further—What business could your brother's servant, a stranger in America, possibly have out of the British lines, which ought not to have been transacted under the sanction of a flag? Why did he not leave these *private* letters in his Master's tent, where they would have been safe? Could they be necessary to any business, which either he or your brother could have to transact with the knowledge of the Commander in Chief?

Tell me yet more—If these private letters did not convey some secret information from you and your faction; if they only related to your brother's private affairs, they could be of no more use to the rebels, than knowing in what manner
he

he had disposed of his *enormous estate*. Why then did not the same "regard," which the rebel Officer felt for the "personal gallantry" of your brother; but *chiefly from the circumstance* of his being the "*brother*" of you, "*their good friend*," and the "*nephew of their illustrious advocate and patron*," induce him to return the "private letters," as well as the "sealed packet," in which he conceived the will was enclosed?

These are lifting questions. You cannot, you dare not, answer them. The very answers would yet further demonstrate your guilt and your treason.

Although these private letters have not yet recrossed the Atlantic, there are means by which they may be procured; and not only these, but many others wrote by your faction to incite and support the rebellion. The letters wrote to Washington and other principal rebels, sent over about six months since by Dr. Pearce *, with a
superb

* Information was made against this man, by a person of credit, that he was about to set off for America, intending to spend the remainder of his life under the tyranny of the new States (such was his republican enthusiasm, and his hatred to the Government of his country!); that he had already taken under his care a number of letters from those who stile themselves *Patriots in Britain*, for their adherents and "*friends*" in America, and was to receive many more before his departure; and that he was to be the carrier of a saddle, decorated with

superb saddle, a present to the Rebel Commander in Chief; and in particular that accursed letter wrote early in the rebellion by your *jesuitical colleague*, advising the seizure and imprisonment of every American who was loyal to his Sovereign, and faithful to your country;—that letter, in pursuance of which, thousands of your innocent and virtuous fellow-subjects have been proscribed, their estates confiscated, their families ruined, and many of them have perished by lingering disease in loathsome dungeons, and many suffered an ignominious death on a gallows, will be brought to light. For think not, that it is within the confines of possibility that all those proofs of the guilt of your faction can long be concealed in the gloom of your treason. No! Those rebels, who, with a load of perjury on their souls, have deserted and betrayed their Sovereign, and the cause of their country, shall, as soon as you can support them no longer, desert and betray you and your associates.

CICERO.

with the superbest ornaments, as a present from the *Junto* in Britain to the *Rebel* Commander in Chief in America. An oath was made before the proper authority, and a warrant issued for apprehending him.—But the Doctor having some suspicion, from a consciousness that he had disclosed his secrets to more than one, hastily fled two days before the time he had fixed with his friends for his departure, and escaped the officers of justice.

L E T T E R V.

[“ O tempora ! O mores ! Hic tamen vivit—vivit ! immo
 “ verum in Senatum venit : fit publici concilii particeps.
 “ Nos autem, viri fortes satisfacere Reipublicæ videmur, si
 “ istius furorem et tela vitemus !”

CICERO in CATILINAM.

O degenerate times ! corrupted manners ! The traitor
 lives—lives did I say ! He mixes with the Senate : while we,
 magnanimous Counsellors of State, judge that we discharge
 our duty if we escape his fury and his sword.

CICERO'S ORATIONS against CATILINE.

WHEN I take a retrospect of your various
 intrigues, and particularly of those which
 your faction is at this moment meditating against
 the safety of your country ; when I consider your
 secret cabals with the rebel President, and the
 rebel Ambassador—the private meetings of your
 favourite, the indolent Admiral, with the same
 Ambassador—the numerous letters replete with
 treason, wrote by your confederates in the early
 stage of the rebellion—the private letters lately
 carried by your brother's servant to the rebel
 officer—and those more lately sent by that fo-
 rmer of sedition, Doctor Pearce—the several
 large sums of money collected by your adherents
 in Britain, and transmitted through France to the

rebel

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rebel insurgents, in one vessel not less than 40,000 guineas*—the dreadful and universal conflagration of the capital of the kingdom, lately attempted by your faction, and nearly effected—and, above all, the

* Captain Turpine, of the *Fier French man of war*, informed a British Colonel, now in London, when a prisoner on board his ship, coming from the French West Indies to France, that, to his certain knowlege, “ the insurgents in “ America had a *powerful party in England*; and that large “ sums of money, collected in Britain, had been often conveyed through France to America, for the use of the insurgents; and particularly, in one ship, 40,000 guineas.” Can it be necessary to remind Britons, that there has been long a committee for raising subscriptions for the relief of the *rebel* prisoners in Britain? that, in this committee, there is not one man that has a spark of loyalty in his breast; while its Treasurer is the *ranked of rebels*. What would a State, whose councils ~~were not in confusion~~, do with such a daring combination in favour of *rebellion*? What would have been done to such a daring insult on the powers of Government in the year 1745? What would the Court of France do to a committee of Frenchmen, who should dare to open such a subscription for the relief even of captured Britons, to say nothing of rebels? And what instant punishment would have fallen on an American committee of loyalists (fond as the rebel Congress are of committees), should they have attempted to open a subscription for the relief of *their fellow subjects captured in opposing rebellion*? Let the loyal part of Britons seriously think of this combination: let them who understand the rightful powers of the British Government consider, what may not be done in support of rebellion, under this *pretended charity*. If they do not know it already, I will tell them. Under this combination, forbidden by the laws of the land, under this *humane adherence to the enemies of the Crown*, thousands, and tens of thou-

the host of seditious committees and associations, and your numerous followers and adherents dispersed throughout the kingdom, all of them desperately daring and ready for every kind of mischief, however atrocious;—I say, when these truths pass in review before me, if I did not know that the decree is passed, “Thus far shalt thou go and no farther,” my spirit would take the alarm, and despond of the safety of a people, whose liberty it admires, and whose fame is the first object of its care,

The plot to compel your Sovereign to withdraw his troops from America, and to surcease his endeavours to reduce the rebellion, you are still determined to pursue in the present Session of Parliament. This plot has been long settled with the rebel Congress, and their present Ambassador at the Court of France. I want no proof of its existence. I have seen your faction repeatedly moving and contending for this measure in the Senate, under the artful disguise of restoring peace to your country; but, in reality, with a design to assist the com-

sands, may have been subscribed, and transmitted, by the rebel Treasurer, to the American insurgents, while the unhappy deluded prisoners have received but a *small pittance* of those liberal sums which have been paid by the republican and traitorous faction *towards the support of the rebellion.*

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mon enemy, to give independence to the Colonies, and by that means to render the present Ministry detestable in the eyes of a free and magnanimous people, for having lost so great a part of their dominions, and in the result to sacrifice that Ministry to your ambitious and traitorous designs. Your uniform conduct in the Senate for three years past, when rightly considered, demonstrates this to be your horrid purpose, without other proof.—But I *have* other proof—It comes from one of your *faithful allies*, through different Gentlemen, whose honour and veracity cannot deceive. The latter are, what cannot be said of you, or any of your faction, faithful subjects of your sovereign, and as zealously attached to the cause of your country as you are to that of rebellion. As a proof of their fidelity and honour, while you are exerting your utmost abilities to overthrow the government which has given you freedom and protection, they have sacrificed their fortunes, and the independent happiness of their families, to its preservation.

The information before me is contained in the following genuine extracts of Letters. The first is dated New York, August 28, 1780, in these words :

“ We have also an account from a confidential friend, that Doctor Franklin had advised

“ Congress to muster all their forces, and to ap-
 “ proach as near New York as possible, to give
 “ THEIR FRIENDS IN ENGLAND an opportunity
 “ of declaring that New York was invested by
 “ the French and Rebels—that the British forces
 “ dare not stir out of their lines—that there was
 “ no prospect of an end to the war—and to in-
 “ sist on a recall of the King’s forces. This
 “ account comes from your old friend **** †,
 “ who had it from Timothy Matlack, a Mem-
 “ ber of Congress.”

The extract of the second letter, dated New York, September 7th, 1780, is in these words :

“ Doctor Franklin has wrote a letter to Con-
 “ gress, desiring them to raise all the militia in
 “ their power, and to let them, together with
 “ the Continental troops, lie as near the British
 “ lines as possible, in order *to give it the appear-*
 “ *ance of being besieged* ; he assures *them*, that he
 “ expects every SALUTARY CONSEQUENCE from
 “ such a measure, as it will enable their FRIENDS
 “ IN PARLIAMENT, during the winter debates,
 “ to hold it up as a *besieged place*, and to insist on
 “ a recall of the British troops. Beware of this
 “ device !”

† The name of Cicero’s friend is left blank, as the mention of it would prove the ruin of a faithful subject of the Crown, and a man of virtue and opulence.

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In full confirmation of the truths contained in these extracts, and to prove your treasonable intentions to support and co-operate with the rebellion from the beginning; I have the best authority to add the following anecdote: "When
 " Doctor Franklin, between whom and Mr.
 " Galloway there had been a long and continued
 " friendship, endeavoured to prevail on him to
 " accept a delegation to the second Congress,
 " and to throw his weight and influence into
 " their scale; he, among other things, exaggerated the resources of America, and diminished
 " those of Great Britain. But Mr. Galloway,
 " well acquainted with those resources, detecting
 " his facts, and refuting his arguments, the
 " Doctor candidly unfolded to him the true
 " foundation upon which the American rebels
 " built their hopes of a successful opposition.
 " He told Mr. Galloway, that *America would be*
 " *united*, and always able to draw her powers
 " into exertion, while the British nation, and its
 " public councils, were, *and would be yet more,*
 " *divided and distracted.* That the friends to the
 " *American cause in Britain, would incessantly main-*
 " *tain and increase that division and distraction, by*
 " *opposing the measures of Government;* and consequently, that though he confessed the resources
 " of Great Britain, from whence the supplies of
 " war must be drawn, were very great, yet that *she*
 " *never*

“ never would be able to command them, nor to
 “ make the exertions necessary to reduce the Colonies.
 “ Mr. Galloway, in his turn, wishing to convert
 “ the Doctor, and knowing that, in his then dis-
 “ position of mind, nothing could effect it but
 “ a full conviction of the impracticability of his
 “ scheme, reminded him of the common and ap-
 “ posite fable of the two Bull Dogs tearing each
 “ other to pieces, yet, on the appearance of their
 “ common enemy, their enmity instantly ceased,
 “ and their whole powers became *united, and exerted*
 “ *to reduce him.* That such had often been the
 “ case of Britons, and certainly would be so
 “ again. Here the two friends parted as they
 “ met, unconverted to the principles of each
 “ other.”

Upon a review of the preceding Letters and
 Anecdote, the authenticity of which can be
 solidly supported, how glaring does the conspi-
 racy of your faction with the rebels, and enemies
 of your country, appear ! So early as in the be-
 ginning of the rebellion, the only hope of the first
 of rebels depended on *your alliance and support,*—
 in the *confusion which your opposition should create in*
the Councils of the State,—and in the *imbecility of*
exertion, which that opposition should occasion :—
 And how literally has the conduct of your fac-
 tion corresponded with that hope ! With what
 unremitting assiduity have they exerted their
 abilities

abilities to distract the public councils, to oppose the wisest measures, and to support the rebellion ! Has there been any scheme, which your subtle inventions could devise, that you have not steadily pursued, to effect those seditious purposes ? Has there been one measure proposed and adopted by the Councils of the State, which *you have not opposed, misrepresented, and abused ?* Has there been one officer, either naval or military ; one coward, who from fear ; or one traitor, who from treachery, has neglected his duty to his country, whom *you have not embraced, justified, and defended ; and, in one instance, even crowned with honours and applause ?* Has there been a moment lost, by your industrious confederates, in devising plans to engross and waste the precious time of the national Councils, and in fabricating the most trivial, false, and infamous charges *against the Servants of the Public ?* Have you not had the audacity to threaten those Servants with impeachments, and the block, for pursuing the wisest, and the only proper measures *to ensure the public honour and safety ?* Has there been one session of Parliament, since the rebellion began, in which you have not contended *for the principle, and vindicated the justice, of the American rebellion ?* Has there been one revolving year in which you have not, by your secret cabals, your publications, and your seditious harangues, even in the Senate, endeavoured to *incite a rebellion in Britain, and opposed*

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those

those measures which were necessary to suppress that in America? Have not the indolence and treachery of the creatures of your faction, to whom the duty of suppressing it was unfortunately, and, through your intrigues, committed, rather supported it? And have not that indolence and treachery encouraged France and Spain to declare war against your country, *and involved it in all its present difficulties and distress?* All these questions must, if they are answered by the voice of truth, be answered in the affirmative.

Had you acted a faithful part to your country, the rebellion either would not have happened, or the subject in controversy would have been easily accommodated. While you were opposing the measures of your country, to reduce its undutiful subjects to their usual obedience, you were exhorting them to persevere in rebellion; to “make a solemn, fullen, and invincible stand,” against that authority to which they had submitted, without a murmur, for more than *one hundred and fifty years*.

Why did not your faction, if they intended good, either to Britain or to America—if they had any thing in view, but the accomplishment of their own sinister designs, become the mediators in the dispute? and, in the course of six years, in the place of this treasonable project, of with-
drawing

drawing the troops from America, propose some plan by which the two countries might be bound together by *mutual policy and mutual interest*? If you really thought that America was oppressed, why have you not, in the course of six sessions of the Senate, brought in a bill which would have relieved her from that oppression? This was more your duty, than that of those who differed in opinion from you. You evidently wanted not abilities. If your hearts did not feel a greater desire to gratify your rapaciousness, and lust for dissipation, than love for the two countries, you would have done this. You would, in the one hundredth part of the time you have spent in your seditious designs, have looked into the causes of the controversy, and, perceiving the remedy, have proposed it. You would not—you could not, had your hearts been thus disposed, have projected the rebellion;—and advised its leaders to make a “solemn, fullen, and “invincible stand” against the authority of a country *which gave you birth, and in the Councils of which too many of you possess an honourable share.*

But however well your colleagues in the Senate know this to have been their duty, had America been really oppressed, you also know that the oppression complained of, was visionary and fictitious; and that the rebellious part of the

Colonists wished that no proposals of accommodation should be made on the part of Great Britain; but intended, from the beginning, *to throw off their allegiance, and to separate the Colonies for ever from the Parent State.* Their whole conduct told you this truth; and you must have known it, had you not been admitted into their secret councils. You also knew that any proposals would have given them disgust and offence—would have been a breach of your mutual stipulations—would have broken your union.—And both your faction in Britain, and your rebel colleagues in America, further knew that an accommodation with the Colonies would have, at once, subverted the foundations of your designs against the liberties and safety of your country, and deprived you of the only means and hopes of *destroying its peace.*

How palpably contradictory has your conduct been to those principles, which a little regard for your country, and that humanity towards America, which have been the constant themes of your declamations, would have dictated! Instead of taking any one step towards restoring the union and peace of the two countries, you have uniformly opposed both the coercive and the pacific measures adopted for those purposes. You have in every instance exclaimed against the sending a force to reduce the rebellion—and when sent, you
have

have prevented, by your factious intrigues, the great and beneficial effects which must otherwise have been the natural consequence. When you found you could not obstruct a measure so evidently necessary to reduce the rebellious subjects of the State to their former obedience, you insidiously prevailed on them, in two different instances, to reject with audacious contempt the most liberal propositions that were ever offered by a State to its undutiful subjects—propositions to which many of your faction had insidiously assented; when you had, by your intrigues with your favourite General and Admiral, sacrificed the Northern army, brought on a war with France, and prevailed on that perfidious Court to send a powerful fleet to the assistance of your American allies; when you had compelled your Sovereign to abandon Philadelphia, in order to save his fleet and army, at a time when the leaders in rebellion were in the last stage of despondency; and when you had, by these means, revived the spirit of the rebels; elated with your success, you thought you had reduced the Ministers of your Sovereign to such uncommon difficulties, that you could further compel them to adopt your ensnaring and perfidious motion. You then began to move in Parliament, *that the British troops should be withdrawn from America.* And although the virtue and magnanimity of the Senate, encompassed as it was by the difficulties
and

and dangers which your seditious intrigues had effected, repeatedly overruled your motion; yet having brought Spain into your alliance, and prevailed on France to send her forces to America, you have resolved, in your secret cabals with Dr. Franklin, to renew the motion “ during the winter’s debates.”

Left you should still suspect that I have not discovered your whole intrigues, I will be yet more particular. Believing the rebel resources, which you took from their own representations, were much greater than they really were, and relying on the indolent conduct of your favourite General and Admiral, it was agreed between you, that the rebel army, alone, should, in 1778 and 1779, draw near New York, “ to give it the appearance of a place besieged.” This was accordingly done; and upon this you founded your several motions in the Senate in those years. Had you succeeded in your opposition to the measures of your Sovereign, either in preventing the necessary supply of troops from being sent to America—or in your motions in the Senate, for recalling those already sent—the whole powers of the combined force of France and Spain were to be employed in the conquest of the West Indies, and in plundering and laying waste your country; until its distresses should compel your Sovereign, and his Parliament,

ment, to cede to America that independence, of which you and your confederates have, by their repeated assurances, become, in a manner, the guarantees. But this was not the ultimatum of your plot—for these distresses were further to be continued, until your Sovereign should be compelled to abandon the faithful servants of the Public, and to establish your rapacious confederates in their places; and until you and your noble uncle had obtained *absolute power over the lives and properties of your fellow-citizens.*

But finding yourselves deceived in the exertions of America—failing in your scheme for recalling the troops—and perceiving the rebellion falling under the weight of its own tyranny and cruelties—you were obliged to suspend the prosecution of your design, until the proper measures should again be taken, to give it some plausibility and prospect of success. For this purpose, France agreed to send over a large naval force, and 10,000 men, and the rebels were to raise 35,000. With this combined force New York was to be besieged; and you, whom Dr. Franklin calls “their friends in Parliament,” and whom the Rebel Congress stiles “their truly noble, illustrious, and patriotic advocates,” were to renew your motion.

Had

Had this plot succeeded, what an extensive field would there have been opened for your intended motion, and your treasonable declamations in Parliament! How would the changes have been rung on the injustice of the American war, on the ruin in which it must involve Great Britain, on the impossibility of raising the supplies, and the *necessity* brought on, by the indolence, ignorance, venality, and treachery of the servants of the Public, of giving up by far the greatest part of the British dominions! Here, Catiline, all your oratorical figures and flourishes would have been exerted—you would have even eclipsed yourself—your jesuitical colleague, the traducer of his King, and blasphemmer of his God, with all your speech-making, disappointed, desperate and abandoned crew, would have followed you; and all these falsehoods would have been audaciously thundered in the ears of the Senate; although I know, and you know, that *that very necessity* would have arisen from your opposition to Government, and your intrigues with rebels and the common enemy of your country.

But, infatuated men! you were again disappointed. The French deceived you, the rebels deceived you. Instead of 10,000 troops, the former could only send 4,500.—Instead of an army of 35,000 men, the latter could raise only 10,000 for a few months; and this number has since decreased to 6,000. Here again disappointed,

what could your faction, the Court of France, or even Dr. Franklin (of whom you and that Court have been long the dupes), do in so great a dilemma; more especially as you all had, in your perfidy, crossed the Rubicon?—Your faction desponding, the Court of France in the same dismal situation, destitute of resources to carry on the war for the accomplishment of its ambition, and her fleet blocked up at Rhode Island! this forlorn state of your affairs stared you in the face.—You had deceived France, France had deceived you, and Dr. Franklin had deceived you both—all of you acting from different motives, and having different schemes in view. Yet, not seeing the art and duplicity of this political quack, you suffer him to deceive you again. He now assures you, that the militia in America, disposed to rebellion, is vastly numerous; that although the Congress have failed in bringing into the field nearly three-fourths of the number stipulated; although no dependance can be placed on the militia; yet that they may be easily drawn forth “to approach near New York, to enable you, *their friends in Parliament*, during the winter’s debates, to hold it up as a place besieged, and to insist on a recall of the British troops.”

Having thus concerted the plan with you and the perfidious enemy of your country, he wrote the letter mentioned in the preceding ex-

tracts, informing the Congress of it, and advising their co-operation.—The utmost exertions of Congress have been made in pursuance of that advice; and this contemptible militia, that is, all that they could raise of it, have been drawn “as near as possible to New York, to give it the “appearance of a place besieged.”—And you, “the friends in Parliament” of the Rebel States, have already prepared on paper, those declamations upon which you intend to found your treasonable motion.

Is it possible for the acutest invention of the most inveterate enemy of your country, to devise a plot more insidious and replete with treason against its interest and safety? Should this motion, thus devised by the combined enemies of Britain, and traitorously adopted by your faction, succeed, your country is undone for ever. All hopes of reducing the rebellion, and of a reunion with America, must vanish; her independence in that moment will be secured; her commerce with all the world, except your country, settled; her resources of war established; her *whole powers* thrown into a naval force, which will harass and ruin your commerce; and the treason of America shall combine with the perfidy of France and Spain, in pursuing *their unprovoked envy and malice against Great Britain to her final destruction*. To the loss of America, the losses of the commerce of your country, of its
best

best nurseries of seamen, of its naval strength, of its possessions in the East and West Indies, if not of every other part of its foreign dominions, will succeed. For know, that it is recorded among the decrees of heaven, "*that when Great Britain shall lose America, she shall be lost* HERSELF—*her fame among nations shall be forgot, and her independence exist no more!*"

How long do you think, Catiline, you will be permitted by *infinite justice* to abuse the patience of your fellow-citizens? How long to trample on the laws of your country and the excellent constitution of its government, by your lawless committees and seditious associations? How long to insult the Majesty of your Sovereign, and to provoke the resentment and justice of his Parliament, by your seditious harangues and treasonable propositions? How long to continue in combination and co-operation with rebels, and the constant enemy of Britain, by your seditious intrigues? Will not some latent spark of regard, which possibly may yet remain unquenched in your bosom, for your bleeding country—a country bleeding at every pore through the intrigues of your faction—nor the fear of the indignant resentment of your injured fellow-citizens which you have too long provoked—nor the dread of that punishment which you have so long deserved—will nothing stop the precipitate

career of your desperate audacity? Reflect but for a moment before it be too late! Perceive you not, that your dark conspiracies are brought to light? that all sensible and good men are already alarmed at your secret intrigues, your nocturnal associations and committees; and that, in consequence of that alarm, their indignation and repentment have already fallen on those men of your faction, who have been the constant advisers and abettors of your treason?—Where are those fore-runners of your pack, your most steady adherents, a P—n—l, a L—tt—l, a C—g—r, a H—tl—y, a M—r—d—th, and a H—we, who have long supported the rebellion?—They are justly excluded from the Senate, notwithstanding their insidious solicitations, as unworthy of that public trust which they had laboured so long to betray. And with what contempt was the whining Jesuit of St. Omer's, your first and most faithful colleague, justly degraded from a seat in the public councils of the State, by the suffrages of the virtuous and free people of the second city in the kingdom!

Perceive you not, that the resources of America are exhausted, and that the rebellion, the ground of your intrigues, the darling child of your hope, notwithstanding all your support, is expiring under the weight of its own tyranny? Perceive you not, that the virtuous and deluded
part

part of your faction, whether in the army or navy, are deserting you, and the spirit of Britons is roused into indignant resentment at the *multitude and magnitude* of the injuries they have received from their intestine as well as foreign enemies? Perceive you not, that your Sovereign, whose rights you wish to usurp, is surrounded by a powerful band of faithful servants, determined to preserve those rights, and with them the liberty and safety of their country? Have you not lately seen that sovereign, when your faction meditated the destruction of the capital, and the slaughter and ruin of its inhabitants, with the same firm and undaunted virtue, by which I saved the city of Rome, save the cities of London and Westminster from a general conflagration? Yes, you have seen all this—your faction have seen it. And you also know that your Sovereign, his Senate, and the virtuous part of your fellow-citizens, are aware of your designs, and prepared to meet them,

Your predecessor, of Rome, saw and knew as much. And yet your degenerate souls, like his, lost to all sense of public as well as private virtue, and debased below the wretch who robs on the highway, or plunders his neighbour's house in the night, remain undismayed at your danger, and unmoved at the enormity of your treason. Desperate, and prepared for death, or to riot in the spoils

spoils of your country, you are resolved to proceed to the end. Think but a moment on the small degree of that man's guilt, who has taken a shilling from another, only to supply his wants, when compared with that of your faction, who have long meditated the destruction of millions, and of the freedom and happiness of a whole nation. But why should I reason with Catiline, who has banished reason and virtue from his heart? Cease then, my spirit, and give him up to his doom—for *quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*—"Those
 "whom Heaven cannot reclaim consistently with
 "its unerring decrees of mercy and justice, it
 "gives up to the infatuation of their wickedness,
 "and abandons them to their fate."

CICERO.

L E T T E R VI.

“ Hostis est enim non apud Anienem, quod bello Punico
 “ gravissimum visum est, sed *in Urbe, in Foro*. Dii immor-
 “ tales! (sine gemitu hoc dici non potest :) Non nemo etiam
 “ in illo *sacrario Reipublicæ*; *in ipsa*, inquam, *Curia* non nemo
 “ hostis. Quid tandem fiet; hæc elapsa de manibus nostris,
 “ in eum annum, qui consequitur, redundârint!”

CICERO pro MURÆNA.

The enemy is not on the banks of the Anio, which was thought so terrible in the *Punic war*, but *in the City and in the Forum*. Good Gods! (*I cannot speak it without a sigh*) there are some enemies in the very *Sanctuary*, some, I say, *in the Senate!* What will become of us, entering into a *new year*, with these dangers around us?

OF all the conspiracies which ever entered into the hearts of the wicked, that of Lucius Catiline was the most horrid. More than 1700 years have since elapsed, and it has remained unparalleled until the period of your faction. It has been left by myriads of millions of the human race who have since existed, to be equalled in the extent of its mischiefs, and the horror of its wickedness, by that which has been formed by you and your abandoned confederates. However disagreeable it may be to you and them, as it will prove a lesson of useful instruction to your fellow-citizens, I mean to compare them. The parallel will hold up a mirror, in which your characters, your measures, and the dreadful ex-

tent of your treason against the public weal, may be clearly traced.

I sincerely lament, that the times, which you have thought the most proper for the execution of your designs, too much resemble those embraced by Lucius Catiline for the like horrid purposes. In Rome, at that day, as in Britain at this, the immense wealth brought from foreign countries, produced a boundless luxury amongst the citizens; this begat covetousness, rapacity, and a shameless venality. The people themselves were in general debauched and corrupt, and loved to be corrupted: And therefore, the liberties of Rome were not to be preserved without bribing the very people who were interested in their preservation. The virtuous magistrate, the faithful consul, who wished to preserve the freedom of his country, was obliged to conform to the times. These circumstances gave L. Catiline an opportunity of procuring a needy, discontented, and rapacious band of profligates, who were always at his beck. Those who had become abandoned through their vices, those whom luxury had made rapacious, and whom the want of means to gratify it had rendered desperate, wishing to obtain the offices and emoluments of the Public, were his colleagues and creatures. Nor was this desperate band to be found in the city of Rome only; they

they were dispersed in the country, and *even in the Colonies.*

How exactly correspondent are the present times which you have embraced for the execution of your treasonable designs, with those I have mentioned! The immense wealth poured in from foreign parts, has rendered too many of the sons of Britain luxurious. That luxury has naturally produced a wicked dissipation; that dissipation, a rapacious covetousness never to be satiated. Their desire of ease, pleasure, and sensual enjoyments ever exceeds the means of gratification. Impetuously led by their vices, nothing will satisfy them but the emoluments of office, and the sole disposition of the public wealth. Their Sovereign, however disposed he might be, for the sake of peace and union in his public councils, to employ them, seeing no bounds to their lawless desires, nor one spark of public virtue in which he can repose a confidence, has hitherto declined it. This virtuous resolution to preserve his own rights, with the rights and liberties of his people, which cannot be severed without a dissolution of the government, is, and, it is hoped, will continue to be, a bar against entrusting the *safety of his crown and the liberties of his people to their management.* Thus restless in their passions, disappointed in their views, and instigated by their

vices, they have been the proper subjects of your arts, and the fit instruments of your treason.

Nor is your band unlike L. Catiline's in its numbers and extent. Your confederates are not confined to the cities of London and Westminster;—they are to be found in every shire in Great Britain—in Ireland, and in the Colonies. If the Roman conspirator had his nocturnal meetings in Rome and its environs, you have yours in London, Westminster, Yorkshire, and various other parts of England. You have your associations and committees, who not only meet in the night to settle those parts of their treason which will not bear disguise, but appear in open defiance of law at noon-day; and such is their indiscretion, such their audacity, that they do not refrain from their treasonable declamations and resolves against the wisest measures, and even against the long established principles of that Government which they are determined to destroy*.

If L. Catiline raised a rebellion in the Roman Colonies, your faction has raised another in the British Colonies.—If he had armies under his confederates, Manlius in Etruria, Piso in Hither Spain, and P. S. Nucerinus in Mauritania, you have also

* See the Resolves of the Westminster Association, *passim*.

your

your adherents in the British army and navy, and you have an army under Washington, in New Jersey, one under Gates, in South Carolina, and another under your faithful friend and ally M. Rochambeau in Rhode Island.

The resemblance in the characters of the leading conspirators of the two factions is equally striking.—“ Lucius Catiline, like you, was of an illustrious family.—His ancestors had enjoyed some of the highest offices of the State; he was poor and necessitous through his own extravagance; he borrowed of his friends until no man or woman in Rome would trust him, but his favourite strumpet Orestilla; his avidity after money exceeded rapacity itself; his dissipation and profligacy even surpassed the means he possessed of gratifying them.—He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and took pleasure in civil broils; of a spirit daring and insidious—expert in all the arts of disguise and dissimulation; greedily covetous of other men’s wealth, lavish of his own; violent in his passions; eloquent, but not endued with much wisdom:—His boundless ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects; making him aspire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities. Lost to all sense of virtue and religion, he feared neither the Gods nor men. His lust for power was so

“ boundless, that he was ready to wade through
 “ murder and treason to obtain it.” What a
 mirror is here, Catiline, in which you may see
 an exact portrait of yourself! Not one lineament,
 trace, or shade is to be found in it different from
 your own. Whether I consider your family, your
 abilities, and their fitness for intrigue, your pas-
 sions, your poverty, your profligateness, your
 vices, your irreligion, your love of wickedness,
 and your lust for lawless power, in order to gra-
 tify your lawless desires, it is an exact resemblance
 of *Catiline the Second*.

L. Catiline had also, like you, his principal
 heroes and leaders in his conspiracy. They were
 to be seen “ in every public department; in the
 “ Senate, and in the Comitia; and numbers of
 “ lesser villains among the populace, down to
 “ the gladiator and the slave.” Have you not
 likewise your factious and seditious coadjutors in
 both Houses of P——t, strictly pursuing your
 plans, and boldly pushing forward your execrable
 designs? Are not the instruments of your sedi-
 tion in the army, the navy, among the clergy,
 and even at the bar? Have you not a H——e
 and a B——y in the army, a H——e and a K——e
 in the navy, a P——e among the divines, and a
 D——g at the Bar, with many others in those several
 departments? Have you not a P——e and a
 H——y,

H——y, with hundreds of others of the same rank in life, who have been long incessantly engaged in deluding the ignorant, and diffusing, by their publications, the poison of your sedition among the people — Have you not a numerous band of low miscreants, from a *Temple* and a *Smith*, down through all degrees of journeymen tradesmen, to the tinker, cobbler, and chimney-sweeper, ready to execute your dark purposes? Tell me, Catiline, whether your fellow-citizens have not lately seen these deluded wretches, instigated by your faction, exerting their utmost endeavours *to put to death the most virtuous of your fellow-subjects, and with torches in their hands, to lay the cities of London and Westminster in ashes?*

If your faction resembles that of Rome in the number and different ranks of conspirators, the similitude is no less glaring between the characters of their principal leaders. For had the *heroes* of the two factions been begot by the same parents, educated in the same school, trained in the same habits of vice and criminal dissipation, and daily lectured with the same lessons of sedition, their respective likenesses in their passions and principles could not be more strong.

In the Senate, the first and principal conspirator, on whom L. Catiline most relied, was *Caius Cethegus*,

Cetbegus, descended from the Cornelian family, a Nobleman to whom, in case of success, the most bloody and desperate part of the plot was to have been committed.—“ His temper was fierce, “ impetuous, implacable, and daring even to an “ excess of fury. His ambition was boundless; “ and by that ambition, and his intrigues, he “ ascended to the first offices in the State, and “ acquired considerable influence, for a time, “ in its public councils; but his intrigues “ and audacious insolence of office soon brought “ him into disgrace, and he was degraded as “ a Nobleman unworthy of public trust.”

Can any person, who knows the character, the passions, and temper of your *noble Gallic Uncle*, “ the illustrious advocate and patron” of rebellion, be one moment at a loss in finding another *Cetbegus*? Whoever will look into the public character of this Nobleman, will find that he has rose into the first offices of the State by his intrigues:—That he has been justly degraded by his Sovereign for his over-ruling insolence:—That he is *fierce, impetuous, and implacable* in his temper; and never yet forgave what the insolence of his pride taught him to believe was an injury, or even so much as an inadvertent neglect. That uncle is the only Nobleman in the kingdom, who has had the impudence, in the public Senate, to treat MAJESTY ITSELF *with insult*; and whose ambition aspires after *nothing*
short

short of the despotic possession of the Throne itself.

In the character of the Earl of * *, your fellow-citizens have the exact delineations of that of *Publius Autronius*. With an immense estate in his possession, he cannot, or will not, pay his just debt, even to a worthy person of his own family to whom it has been long since mortgaged; the noble Earl intends to avail himself of the privilege of his nobility. He is “*artful, eloquent, shrewd, sensible, insidious, and false.*” Nor has he hesitated, with unparalleled folly, to assert to the face of his sovereign an undisguised falsehood, in which he was instantly detected. And yet, I know, Catiline, with all these vices, he is not so deep in your conspiracy as you could wish. He has a latent spark unextinguished, of an attachment to the safety of his country. He desires not the final destruction of its honour and independence, however far his ambition might lead him, to acquire the emoluments of office. And therefore, he *occasionally* sees through your perfidious designs, of giving *independence* to the Colonies.

In the character of the Marquis of * * *, you have that of *Publius Cornelius Lentulus*. “He was a Nobleman of the Patrician branch of the Cornelian family—*weak, vain, and ambitious.* He had been in the Senate, and
8 “pro-

“ promoted to the Consulship some years before
 “ the conspiracy, but was afterwards degraded by
 “ the Censors for his misconduct. His moderate
 “ abilities, his vanity and folly led him to hope,
 “ that in the change of public affairs, or the sub-
 “ version of the Government, he might rise to the
 “ highest honours.”

It is impossible to give a true description
 of the abandoned *Quintus Curius*, whose scan-
 dalous debaucheries in private life, and infamous
 conduct in public, knew no parallel in his time,
 without holding out a mirror, which will shew
 the exact resemblance of your colleague, the
infamous traducer of his King, and blasphemers of his
God. In this man's countenance may be seen per-
 fidious adultery, black treason, and profane blas-
 phemy, trampling on virtue, loyalty, and reli-
 gion.- Like *Quintus Curius*, “ desperately wick-
 “ ed he is, yet has not more boldness than levity;
 “ for whatever *he bears he discloses*; he cannot
 “ conceal *even his own crimes*; in a word, he con-
 “ siders neither *what he says, or what he does.*”
 He has been *expelled the Senate*, not indeed by
 the Censors, as *Quintus Curius* was, but by
 the voice of the Senate itself, *for his scandalous*
crimes.

Such are the characters of some of the leaders
 of your faction. To carry the comparison
 through-

throughout, would be an endless task. Enough has been said to prove of what stamp you are, and how far the rights of a free people are to be trusted in such hands. I will therefore only add, that the rest of your faction, like those of the Roman traitor, are “ all of the same stamp and character, men whom *disappointments, ruined fortunes, and flagitious lives, have prepared for any design against the State; and whose hopes of ease and advancement depend on a change in public affairs, and the subversion of the Government.*”

The times, and the Dramatis Personæ of your intended Tragedy, bearing so strong a resemblance to those of your predecessor, it is natural to conclude, that we shall find, on further enquiry, that your measures and ultimate designs were nearly the same. As to your measures, you and your faction have trod step by step in the track of the Roman conspirators, so far as they were permitted to go. But having some particular advantages, your process has been less difficult, and your progress greater. You have deluded your incautious fellow-citizens with more ease and in greater numbers than your predecessor did; and your faction have proceeded to the actual conflagration of a part of the cities of London and Westminster. L. Catiline could derive no advantage from that source of delusion, public fraud and sedition, the *licentiousness of the*
L press.

press. Yet he found means by his arts and fair pretences, his runners and his agents, to disseminate his sedition through the Roman territories. These formed his cabals, received his intelligence of the state of affairs at Rome, and of his intended intrigues, and diffused the poison of his treason in the distant parts of the Commonwealth. He held at Rome, under the noses of the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors, nocturnal meetings with his associates, while his agents held them not only in the immediate territory of Rome, but in the remote Colonies. Hence, a partial, though a dangerous, discontent and sedition took place throughout the Roman empire, at a time when the people had lost the virtue of their ancestors, and had arrived at that degree of licentiousness which was incompatible with the freedom and just rights of civil liberty.

You, indeed, and your faction, have possessed an advantage which your predecessor had not. The liberty of the press, degenerated into licentiousness, has given you that advantage. Besides your runners, your established agents, your lawless and seditious committees and associations, your conventions and congresses, in every part of the empire, you have a number of presses at your command, and in your pay. You have a host of republican and desperate scribblers, from P—e and H—y down to the common Garretteer. And
you

you have even those republican defamers of their Sovereign and the servants of the Public, those *Stink-Bingzims* and *Skunks* * of sedition, the Authors of the L—n C——t, and G——l A——r, in your *laudable* service. By such desperate instruments as these, you have prevailed on many of your innocent and virtuous fellow-citizens, to become the accomplices of your treason. These unhappy deluded men, with a host of republican enthusiastic wretches, you have enlisted in your traitorous designs against that Government, which alone can secure them in the possession of their civil rights. You have made them rebels, and traitors; traitors, not only to their Sovereign, but to *their own safety and happiness*.

* The *Stink-Bingzim* is an animal very fair to behold, of about the size of an hare, which infests the country near the Cape of Good Hope. When it finds itself closely pursued, or is inclined to annoy any other animal, it lets fly from behind a blast of wind, of such a Stygian scent, that no living creature that has a nose is able to endure it. If hunted, the dogs are immediately thrown out by the horrible smell, and the huntmen are obliged to retire as fast as they can; or the animal which it means to offend is glad of an opportunity of flying, while the delicate creature remains secure under the protection of its own *fætid atmosphere*. The *Skunk* is an animal of the same fair external appearance, and of similar internal qualities, common in several parts of America. The chief difference between them is, that the former does execution by its *wind*, and the latter by its *water*. SCRIBLERUS.

. You have done all this, under the *same disguise*, and *fair pretences*, which L. Catiline made use of in deluding the Roman people to form his band of conspirators against the Government and liberties of Rome: he and his confederates, like you and your associates, “ assumed “ the characters of *Patriots*, and covered their “ secret and wicked design *under their clamours for “ Liberty;*” although they intended to usurp a despotic power over the lives and estates of their fellow-citizens. “ The cause of the poor, they declared, was their cause;” *because the poor, when deceived, were necessary to their detestable designs; yet in their hearts they hated the poor.* “ They complained of the national poverty and distress,” *when the national resources were greater than they had ever been from the foundation of the city.* They persuaded the people, “ that the powers and “ emoluments of Government were engrossed by “ a few,” *in order to induce all to hope for a participation, when they knew it was impossible.* They declared, “ that the worthy and the brave were “ excluded from public offices and emoluments,” *because they themselves, the most abandoned and profligate of men, were not admitted to participate in them.* The officers of Government, whose lives and estates depended on the preservation of its civil constitution, “ they represented as tyrants, “ unworthy of public trust; as men who intended the destruction of the freedom of that “ Govern-

“ Government,” *which it was their interest, and the interest of their posterity, to maintain.* “ They abused in their cabals their FAITHFUL CONSUL, “ and every worthy Magistrate” *who they thought would oppose their horrid design.* This they did not dare to do in the Senate, as your faction has done: THE SONS OF ROME WERE NOT SO DEGENERATE AS TO SUFFER IT.

All these measures being taken, and the plot, as it was thought, brought to its maturity, L. Catiline, in order to “ bind the conspirators “ more firmly to each other, caused a bowl of “ wine, mixed *with human blood*, to be handed “ round from one to another, after the manner of their solemn sacrifices. Of this all the “ conspirators participated.” This you have not done: not because the precedent was too horrible for your mind, but because not consistent with the religion of your country—and therefore you feared it would not be binding on your confederates. But you have substituted in its room what is tantamount to it in wickedness and villainy, and more effectual. You have considered their enthusiasm, as well as their republican spirit, and have sensibly adapted your measures to their principles. And therefore you have recommended to your fellow-conspirators in America, to enter into a solemn league and covenant by oath, imprecating the vengeance of Omnipotence if they

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should

should break it, to make “ an united, solemn,
“ fullen, and invincible, stand” against your and
their country.

The covenant of union being thus solemnly made, it was resolved “ that Lucius Catiline
“ should put himself at the head of the disaffected
“ ed and factious part of the troops—that Rome
“ should be *fired in many places at once*, and a
“ massacre begun at the same time—that in the
“ consternation of the fire and massacre, he
“ should be ready with his army to take the be-
“ nefit of the public confusion, and make him-
“ self master of the city.” I cannot suppose that
you, Catiline, was to take the command of the
military part of your faction, who should at the
proper time revolt from their Sovereign—You
have no military genius. But you have an Uncle
deep in your treason, besides many other military
confederates more proper for that service, who was
probably to have taken that command. The cities
of London and Westminster were to have been,
and actually were, fired in many places at once.
Massacres of the public servants were sought
for, and attempted—and would have been com-
mitted, had not measures been taken to prevent
it. The furies of that faction, which your sedi-
tious cabals had raised and united, were let loose.
The gaols were opened, and all the felons dis-
charged—many private houses, and even the
public

public buildings, were laid in ashes; while the innocent and virtuous part of your fellow-citizens stood aghast at the threatened desolation and ruin, helpless and hopeless, not knowing where to look for relief from dangers so immediate, and of such mighty magnitude. Thus the plot of your faction was, from Friday to Wednesday, daily ripening into that confusion which would have enabled them to make themselves masters of the city, to put to death the guardians of the public weal, and *to have seized into their own hands the powers of the State.* Had this been done, lawless proscriptions, and cruel massacres of the rich and innocent citizens would have succeeded of course. *But your Sovereign, with a secrecy which proved the wisdom of his councils, and a caution which discovered his exalted humanity, stepped forth and saved the two capital cities of the empire from destruction, and the* LIBERTIES OF HIS PEOPLE FROM THE TYRANNY OF YOUR FACTION.

CICERO.

L E T T E R VII.

“ Sed ut vitis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimif-
 “ cas, ut temporibus reipublicæ concedas, non est postulan-
 “ dum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a tur-
 “ pitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore revo-
 “ carit.”

CICERO in CATILINAM.

But there was no hope that Catiline would ever be induced to yield to the *occasions of the State*, or moved with a *sense of his crimes*, or reclaimed by *shame*, or *fear*, or *reason*, from his madness and treason.

CICERO'S ORATIONS against CATILINE.

IN what mighty mischiefs, Catiline, have not your treasonable practices involved your country? To give a faithful history of your cabals in Britain, in Ireland, in France and America—to trace in detail the variety of your political manœuvres—to mark out the versatility of your several plots, and to paint the hideousness of your black designs against your country, would employ more time than I have to spare.—Although I know them well, and all the facts are before me, yet it is not my present design to undertake so tedious a task. It will answer best my honest purpose—my desire to rescue Britons from the threatened danger, to mark the great outlines of those practices which have hitherto proved so propitious to your designs, and ruinous to your country. In doing this, I shall trace your faction from
 its

its formation, marking its progress up to the *summit of its glory, the conflagration of the Cities of London and Westminster*. I shall relate facts that cannot deceive, truths so notorious, that they cannot be denied.

In the year 1764, unanimity prevailed in the Councils of the State, respecting *its right to tax America, and the justice of the measure*. The bill commonly called the *Stamp Act* passed without one dissenting voice. It passed with the concurrence of every leader of your present faction then in Parliament. For your audacious designs were not then concerted, nor your faction formed. But, as soon as they found a lawless resistance arising in America to the execution of that Act, they instantly united into a seditious confederacy against Government. They began with opposing that very measure which they had by their assents pronounced rightful and just. They invited and seduced the American merchants in every part of the kingdom, contrary to their own, and the real interest of their country, to petition against it. They encouraged the faction in America, by innumerable letters, to persevere in their treason; nor did they cease from their intrigues, until they had compelled the Councils of the State to repeal the act. By this measure they intentionally laid the foundation of future insurrections and resistance to the supreme
M authority

authority of their country ; to that very authority which they were *bound by oath to preserve*.

When the bill commonly called the *Tea Act* passed, they insidiously made little or no objection. But as soon as they knew that the Americans were forming an opposition against this Act, they instantly united in support of them, and all their joint powers were exerted to procure its *total repeal*. Failing in this measure, they advised the Americans not to import teas from Great Britain, and either to smuggle them, or not to consume them, in order to prevent their contributing the duty towards the *relief of their fellow-subjects in Britain*.

Again disappointed in seeing that the American Assemblies were content under a partial repeal of the act, and that the American merchant would import British teas, notwithstanding their insidious advice to the contrary, they remained quiet for a time, but incessantly watching for another opportunity of clamouring against, and *traducing the measures of Government*.

When the bill passed, enabling the East India Company to export and sell their teas in America (an Act in every respect greatly beneficial to the Colonists, as well as to the India Company), the faction advised their confederates at Boston, not to suffer them to be landed. And when they were riotously destroyed, *they openly vindicated the measure*.

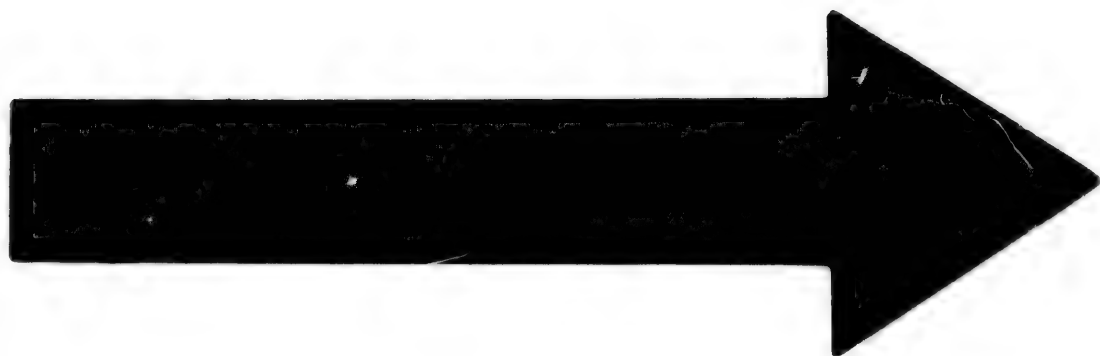
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When the Parliament was about to pass the bill to compel the corporation of Boston to do an act of the most evident justice, and to pay for the damage sustained by the India Company, *they strenuously opposed it.*

But failing in their opposition, and perceiving that the servants of the Public were determined to proceed with firmness in suppressing the rising sedition, and supporting the constitutional authority of the State, they laid the plan of *American resistance*. They advised their seditious confederates in the Colonies, to break off all commerce with the Parent State, and to unite in a "solemn league and covenant on oath," to make a "solemn, sulien, and invincible stand" against that authority, which, by *their oaths* of allegiance, they were *bound to exercise and support.*

When they had thus advised and created a treasonable opposition to the supreme authority of their country, a principal leader* in their
junto

* This Nobleman, once the friend of his Sovereign, the father of his Country, the boast of Britons, and the ornament of the age, suffered his pride and ambition to conquer his reason and patriotism. He joined the faction against the interest of that people, whose reputation he had raised to the summit of glory. In this state of delusion, he warmly espoused the cause of rebellion against the supreme authority of the State; and did not blush when he declared, that he "rejoiced



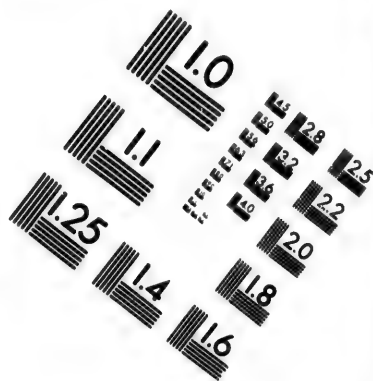
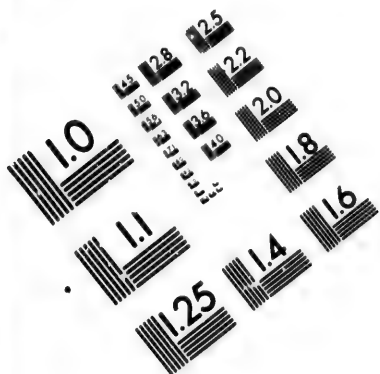
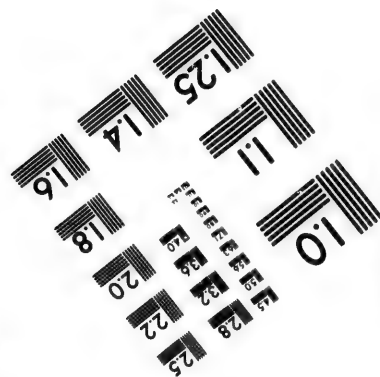
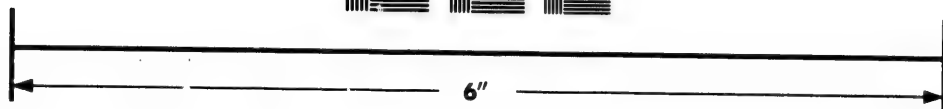
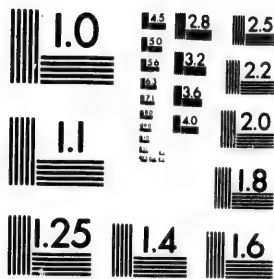


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junto did not hesitate to declare in the Senate, that he "*rejoiced that America had resisted.*"

Before this time you Catiline had revolted from your Sovereign, and took a leading part with the faction in opposing his measures. And now—fearing the "stand," thus advised, should not prove, as you wished, "invincible;" and knowing that to suppress the rising sedition, would be to destroy the foundation and source of your intrigues, you opposed *sending troops to America.*

"that America had resisted." But, unlike the generality of his associates, he had either fixed bounds to his ambition; or his conscience *snote him* for the mischiefs in which his novel principles and seditious harangues had involved the public safety. Therefore, convinced of his error, instead of continuing to approve of the American resistance, *in his dying speech* he condemned, and declared that "he rejoiced, that "he was yet alive to give his vote against so impolitic, so inglorious a measure, as the acknowledgment of the dependency of America; that he would rather be in his grave, than see the lustre of the British throne tarnished, the dignity of the British empire disgraced, the glory of the nation sunk to such a degree as it must be, *when the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain was foregone.*"—The Noble Earl declared further, "that he was exceeding ill; but as long as he could crawl down to the House, and had strength to raise himself on his crutches, or to lift his hand, he would vote against giving up the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain; and if no other Lord was of opinion with him, he would singly protest against the measure." Thus Heaven in its unerring wisdom resolved, that he should *seal* that truth which he had wantonly violated, *with his death.*

Here again unsuccessful, by your arts you procured the command of those very troops, and of the navy which attended them, for *two* of your faction, who were "averse to the measures" they had insidiously undertaken to execute, and who you knew would co-operate in your designs. One of this *par nobile fratrum* had held his secret cabals with the rebel agent Dr. Franklin; and the other had promised his Constituents, first, that he would not "accept the command;" and afterwards, when he had violated his promise, declared to his constituents by words of the strongest implication, that *he would not suppress the rebellion.*

Having thus insidiously over-reached the Councils of the State, and laid a broad foundation of your future measures, you conceived you had every thing in your power which was necessary to your final success. Your faction wrote many letters to men in America, whom you thought of influence in that country, and fit instruments of your treason. With these you have ever since regularly corresponded; constantly blowing the coals of sedition, and exerting every nerve to prevent either *an accommodation of the dispute, or the suppression of the rebellion.*

You resolved, in your secret cabals, that the American war was "unjust and cruel;" and you
even

even have repeatedly declared it so in the great Council of the nation. You further resolved, that the termination of the rebellion was incompatible with your designs, and therefore *it should not be suppressed*. In strict conformity to these resolves, *you yourselves*, and your numerous agents in *Britain, France, and America*, acted in direct opposition to the measures pursued for reducing the rebellion. And although your General and Admiral undertook the war with a force vastly superior to that which they had to oppose, two years were infamously wasted in shameful indolence; battles were fought, and the enemy defeated, but never pursued; and the most obvious advantages of victories negligently lost. A province was conquered, and afterwards infamously given up to 3000 men, when there were near 40,000 to defend it. A British army, of near 40,000 veterans, was besieged, harassed, and distressed at New York, from December to June, by 4000 undisciplined troops: and in the year following, another of near 20,000, at Philadelphia, during the same length of time, by less than 4000 men, who were daily perishing, either by famine or disease, and without the necessary horses to remove their baggage or cannon*.

* See the Letter from a Committee to the Congress, in the Appendix to A Reply to Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, &c. published by G. Wilkie.

And

And although, during the same time, your noble Admiral had not less than 80 ships of war (a force tenfold greater than that of the rebels, and more than sufficient to seize and destroy the whole of the rebel navy, with all the trade, in their defenceless ports, in a few months), yet no one rational step was taken to effect those important purposes: but on the contrary, while the amazing naval armament under his command was for the most part lying useless in the harbour of New York, he suffered the rebels, whom he was sent to subdue, to carry on from their ports an open trade; to import all the necessaries of war, of which at that time they were in a manner destitute; and even to seize the military and naval stores, which were sent from Britain for the British service *. And although, notwithstanding all this truly shameful conduct, the feeble efforts of rebellion had been so reduced as to “intimidate
“its leaders, and nearly induce them to a general
“submission †;” yet the Northern Army, contrary to the positive orders of your Sovereign, was deserted ‡, and left to be captured; a war with France was brought on your country; the spirit of

* See a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Howe, &c. *passim*.

† Sir William Howe’s Narrative and Observations, p. 41.

‡ See Letter from Lord George Germaine, dated the 3d March 1777; and A Reply to Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, *passim*.

rebellion suffered to revive; and 30 millions of the national treasure most wickedly and wantonly wasted.

Nor did your secret intrigues stop here. Having thus involved your country in a war with France, and perceiving that the vigilance of your Sovereign was prepared to meet her naval force, by a fleet *greatly superior*, you again insidiously procured the command for your relation, the *Lee-shore Admiral*, a zealot of your faction, and deep in its sedition. That man, commanding this superior force, met the enemy under every advantage of wind and sea in his favour; but, agreeably to your preconcerted plan, which was, that *no success should attend either the naval or military exertions of your country, while the present servants of the Crown should hold their offices to the exclusion of yourself and your adherents*; when Heaven had placed victory before him, and when the laurels of glory remained only to be plucked, he most shamefully and most treacherously suffered that victory, and those laurels, to escape from his hands*; and that too, under the most ridiculous and inglorious pretences that ever disgraced the name of any naval commander. He was, it seems, afraid of a *lee-shore*, although that shore was not within ninety miles of the scene of action. And he would not fight his enemy, though drawn up in a line

* See the Postscript to this Letter,

of battle, challenging him to the combat, because he would run the risque of *seeing him* the next day, and *beating him handsomely*. With what indignant contempt would a Blake, a Hawke, or a Rodney, look down upon such paltry apologies for cowardice and treachery! *And thus the honour of your Sovereign, the naval force of Britain, and the interest of your country, fell a sacrifice again to your intrigues.*

Having thus involved the Councils of the State in almost insuperable difficulties, and compelled them to offer the most liberal terms of accommodation to the rebels—terms by which the most essential prerogatives of the Crown, and the most important rights of Parliament, would have been sacrificed, had they been accepted; yet, not having obtained your ends, and foreseeing that an accommodation between the two countries would ruin your traitorous project, you advised the Congress to treat those terms with contempt, and told the Americans, if they would reject them, that they would soon obtain, by your aids, *their wished-for independence*. They followed your advice, as they had done before in respect to the first *conciliatory propositions*. And thus you frustrated the measures of your Sovereign, and prevented any negotiation between the two countries from taking place.

N

With

With much art and industry you brought all these difficulties upon the Councils of the State, and these misfortunes on your country, with no other design than to distress, and render odious in the eyes of the people, an Administration whose measures, right or wrong, you have uniformly opposed, and whose offices you wished to obtain. But failing in your design, you recalled your General and Admiral, with their numerous favourites and dependants. With these you attempted to deceive the public Councils, and the people at large, in the following important particulars: 1st, " That America was impracticable " in respect to military operations. 2dly, That " the Colonists were universally disaffected to the " British Government. And 3dly, That it was " impossible to reduce the rebellion with the immense force which had been sent over for that " purpose." These positions, you and your faction knew to be *palpable untruths, and the most wicked of all public impositions.*

Had you succeeded in this national deception, you foresaw that all the odium and public detestation of the authors of those enormous misfortunes, which your cabals had brought on your country, would have been transferred *from you to the present Ministry.* And in that case, you expected that your Sovereign would have been compelled, by the public clamours, to give way to your intrigues, and to deliver up the *rights, liberties,*

ties, and safety of his crown, and of his people, into your hands; and upon your failing in this measure, your next resolution was, to impeach the servants of the Crown of high treason, and to sacrifice their lives to your lawless ambition. But the American Minister, not so much deceived by your General's and Admiral's artful letters and misrepresentations, as you expected, perfectly acquainted with the real state of America, and conscious of the rectitude, practicability, and necessity of the measures which had been adopted, met with undaunted firmness your insidious attempt, and defeated it.

Thus again disappointed, when you thought you had arrived at the goal of your wishes, chagrine succeeded to disappointment. All hope of obtaining the powers and wealth of the State, by secret intrigues and public deception, *without open violence*, was lost. *Open violence* was therefore resolved on. For finding that neither the American rebellion, the loss of the Northern Army, the treachery of the *two Brothers*, added to that of your relation the *Lee-shore Admiral*; the war with France and Spain, the millions which had been wantonly and treacherously wasted, with the millions which will be necessary to recover the nation from those misfortunes, could lower into despondency the spirit of Britons, nor compel the virtue of your Sovereign to remove his faithful servants,

and to receive your faction in their places ;—I say, not only perceiving all this, but that the spirit of your country, and the virtue of your Sovereign, were rising into union, and determined with firmness to oppose *their domestic* as well as *foreign enemies* ; your faction resolved, in strict imitation of your great master *Lucius Catiline*, to wade *through conflagrations and massacres, public confusion and distress*, to the objects of your avarice and ambition ; and, in order to create that *public confusion*, to bury, *by a general conflagration, one of the most populous, wealthy, and flourishing cities in the universe in its own ashes.*

What a scene of terror and wickedness is here laid before the view of your fellow-citizens ! Did not your hearts, when they meditated the destruction of all that magnificence produced by the art and labour of ages, and of all those instructive curiosities which had been collected by so much industry from all parts of the globe, *feel some remorse* ? Did not your consciences, when they reflected on the ruin of those sacred domes in which your ancestors had worshipped, *feel some compunction* ? Had you lost all compassion and mercy for the *thousands* who must have perished, and *the hundreds of thousands* whom you would have reduced from opulence to want, dependent on the cold hand of charity for their poor existence ! And, above all, did not your souls shudder at the thought,

thought, that you had resolved on the destruction of the most perfect system of liberty remaining on earth, for no other purpose than to gratify your lawless thirst *for wealth and despotic power*? No! You did not; for your confederates actually attempted, and partly executed, this infernal plot! while the leaders of your faction, unconcerned at the rapid progress made by their agents in the horrid mischief, remained inactive spectators. Your hopes hourly *rose*, as the terror and dismay of your innocent fellow-citizens *increased*. You impatiently waited for the moment of *universal ruin and confusion*; a moment so propitious to your execrable designs, that you thought, when it arrived, you might step in and “direct the storm.” You would not suffer yourselves to reflect, that a part of the dominions of your country, containing near 3,000,000 of your fellow-subjects, had been reduced by your arts, from the highest state of human freedom and felicity, to the lowest of human tyranny and misery. Nor would you permit yourselves to consider, that already more than 100,000 of your unhappy American fellow-subjects had fallen the victims to your ambition and treason. Nor did even the loss of those gallant Britons in the military and naval service, who have fallen, and who must fall, in vindicating the independence and sovereignty of your country against the rebellion you have excited, and the war you had effected with the two Houses of

3

Bourbon,

Bourbon, in the least discourage you from your nefarious design. Resolved to gratify your dissipation and ambition, the lives of your fellow-citizens were matters of no consequence, when compared with the objects of your wickedness and treason.

Long, Catiline, did your predecessor and his faction riot undetected in his public villanies. The wealth of Rome, the dissipation and profligateness of the people, rendered them the easy dupes of his *fair pretences and insidious arts*. For a time, while their credulity was more powerful than their reason, and all the virtuous qualities of the mind were led in captivity by his seduction, they thought he was a *friend to liberty*, and therefore supported his measures; and while they imagined, by following *Lucius Catiline*, they were pursuing their true interest, they embraced his treason. But in that very moment, which relieved them from *his enchantment*, as soon as they perceived that the ultimate wish of his heart was to *bury Rome in its own ashes, and to usurp a despotic power over their lives and estates*, they deserted him and his faction. They saw, like a sensible people, who knew their own good, that these traitors, notwithstanding their long-continued professions of disinterestedness, of public virtue, love of liberty, and regard for the poor; and notwithstanding their clamorous declamations, however plausible,

plausible, against the servants of the public, possessed not one spark of public virtue; that they *detested the poor, and abhorred the very name of liberty*; and in those rare moments, when their heads were laid on their pillows, and their leisure permitted them to reflect on their wickedness, they admired the virtues of the men, whom, to gratify their own ambitious desires, they *most abused, and intended to destroy*. And hence the people of Rome were perfectly convinced, that *Lucius Catiline* and his faction meditated the destruction of their country and its freedom, *in order to divide its spoils, and riot in its ruin*.

Thus at length delivered from the fascination of the conspirators, *reason, public virtue, a sense of their own true interest, and of the national honour and safety*, took place; and the Roman people invoked *the immortal gods to punish them*. Nor were they deficient in their duty to themselves and to their country. As the instruments of unerring Wisdom, they compelled *L. Catiline* and his atrocious confederates to seek a temporary asylum in open rebellion, where they fell sacrifices to the hideousness of their treason; and their *country and its liberties were delivered from utter destruction*.

I have thus, Catiline, laid before you the true state of your desperate affairs, that you may, if
you

you please, avoid the fate of your predecessor. But this I have done only in compliance with the will of Heaven.—I know, that “neither the occasions of the State, a sense of your crimes, or shame, or fear of punishment, or reason, can reclaim you from your madness and treason.”—You will proceed in your inextinguishable and insatiate ambition, until all virtuous men shall pronounce you the *most abandoned of conspirators, and blackest of all traitors*; and the judgment of Omnipotence, when it shall fall heavy upon your faction, *shall be acknowledged to be just both by heaven and earth.*

CICERO.

P. S. It has not been uncommon for the most important truths to remain problematical for a time, amidst the confusion of party, and the rubbish of misrepresentation and falsehood. The minds of men, which can contain and compare a certain number of ideas only at once, become perplexed, and their judgments confounded in the multiplicity of contradictory positions. Reason is blindly led astray from those material facts and circumstances, in which truth is always to be found.

This was truly the case in respect to the conduct of the *two Brothers* in the American war. The public, for a time misled by their misrepresentations,

presentations; and the shameless falsehoods and groundless clamours of a faction, believed that they had discharged their duty to their country with fidelity and honour; and that all the failures and ill success in that war, had been owing to the neglect or treachery of the servants of the crown. But as soon as those few leading facts and circumstances that were necessary to dispel the mists which the faction, with infinite industry, had raised, were candidly related, reason assumed its throne in the minds of the public, and upright decision universally followed; insomuch that there is now no man in the kingdom who has read them, but is convinced, and none, who are not of their party, that will not confess, that *Administration* have faithfully discharged their duty, and the *two Brothers* betrayed their country.

In the same problematical suspense the conduct of the *Lee-shore Admiral* has remained before the public. The same causes have produced the like doubts and contrary opinions, respecting his naval conduct on the 27th of July. Truth, which always shines most in its native simplicity, has been surounded and almost totally enveloped in party cabals, misrepresentations and falsehoods: whereas a few essential facts, which cannot deceive when simply put together, would have relieved her from her embarrassment, and flashed conviction on every mind which was disposed to see her in her pure and native light.

What then are those facts which will inform the candid enquirer, whether the Admiral discharged the duty of a gallant officer and a friend to his country? Was he furnished with a force equal to that of the enemy he was sent to combat? is the first question which every man of sense and candour will ask. The answer to this question is contained in the following authentic list of the two fleets.

A Comparison of the Forces of the British and French Fleets, when they met off Ushant on the 27th of July, 1778.

FORCES EQUAL.

<i>French line.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>British line.</i>
Le Bretagne,	100	100	Victory
Le Ville de Paris,	90	90	Queen
Le Couronne,	80	80	Foudroyant
Le Robuste,	74	74	America
L'Orient,	74	74	Egmont
Le Glorieux,	74	74	Valiant
Le Conquerant,	74	74	Courageux
Le Fendant,	74	74	Ramillies
Le Magnifique,	74	74	Hector
Le Palmier,	74	74	Monarque
L'Intrepid,	74	74	Berwick
L'Actif,	74	74	Elizabeth
Le Zodiac,	74	74	Cumberland
Le Diademe,	74	74	Robust
Le Bien Aimé,	74	74	Centaur
Le Solitaire,	64	64	Sterling Castle
Le Vengeur,	64	64	Worcester

FORCES

FORCES EQUAL.

<i>French line.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>British line.</i>
Le Reflechy,	64	64	Exeter
L'Artisien,	64	64	Bienfaisant
L'Actionnaire,	64	64	Defiance
L'Indien,	64	64	Vigilant
	1542	1542	

FORCES UNEQUAL.

Le St. Esprit,	80	90	Ocean
Le Dauphin Royal,	70	90	Formidable
L'Eveille,	64	90	Sandwich
Le Sphynx,	64	90	Prince George
Le Rolland,	64	90	Duke
L'Amphion,	50	74	Vengeance
		74	Shrewsbury
	392	74	Thunderer
		74	Terrible
		746	

Total guns in the British line, — 2288

Total guns in the French line, — 1934

Difference, in favour of the British — 354

By this list it appears that the British line was greatly superior in force to that of the enemy. The former had *three* ships of the line more than
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the latter, should L'Amphion carrying only 50 guns be ranked of the line; in the French line there were only *two* three deckers. In the British *seven*. In the French *nine* of 64 guns, and *one* of 50. And in the British *six* only of 64, and *all the others* of 74 and upwards. And the British had the superiority of 354 cannon. — These circumstances alone, when candidly weighed, must give to the British Admiral a great superiority of force to that of his enemy.

Every society, when it confers on an officer the command of a force in any degree superior to that of an enemy, expects to have in return a defeat of that enemy, or some advantage gained. *Britons*, whenever they have sent out a force only equal to that of the *French*, have ever been taught to expect, from the superior strength, steadiness, and gallantry of their men, to look for certain victory and success. And events have ever proved their expectations just and reasonable, except when there has been *some intervening treachery or cowardice*, or some very extraordinary and unforeseen accident. From such a superiority of force on the 27th of July, what ought Britons rationally to have expected? Might they not—*Had they not a right* justly to have looked for a total defeat of their inferior enemy, if not a termination of the war? Was there any thing wanting in the equipment of the fleet? Or did any thing happen out
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of the common course of naval expeditions, which, when placed in opposition to this great superiority of force, could reduce it to a balance with that of the enemy, or which ought in reason to apologize for the want of success? No. None of these circumstances have had an existence. Nor have any of them been produced in the Admiral's vindication. His force was well appointed; his ships were well manned; the wind and sea favoured both his manœuvres and his action; while they distressed those of his enemy, and rendered his exertions greatly embarrassed and less effectual. The gale was steady; the British line was to the leeward of the French. This circumstance alone gave the British Admiral an opportunity, by proper measures, to receive his enemy *in what manner he pleased*. Besides, it placed the lower batteries of the French ships nearly even with the water, a circumstance *which greatly obstructed their use*: while it elevated those of the British, and gave them *every advantage in action*. Hence it must be obvious to every person versed in marine affairs, that the truly superior prowess of British seamen, all the advantages that wind and weather could afford, and a great superiority of naval force, placed victory and success before the British Admiral, had he been disposed to improve these advantages. What would a BLAKE, an HAWKE, or a RODNEY, have done under the like circumstances, promising so much fame to himself,

himself, and such benefits to his country? Let the voice of truth; let the glory of their actions proclaim it in the ears of Britons. They would have *burnt, sunk, or taken the greater part of this hostile fleet.*

And yet notwithstanding all these auspicious circumstances, alluring the Admiral to crop the laurels they had placed before him, he was attacked by this inferior enemy. His second in command, with all the gallantry of a Briton, *unconnected with faction*, sustained the heat of the battle, occasioned by his Admiral's *unskilful or treacherous manœuvres.*

The plan of the naval combat being disconcerted, the enemy again drew up in a line of battle, and challenged the British Admiral to a second action. He by this time was to leeward, and could do no more. But the British Admiral *refused* the challenge, in order to have an opportunity of beating him the next day *handsomely*. What were the measures he pursued to effect this purpose?—The very reverse of what he would have done had he meant to carry it into execution. The French Admiral having out-manceuvred him, or excelled him in fidelity to his country, was now to the leeward. He kept up his lights during the whole night, and continued his course under an easy sail, hoping the British Admiral would

do the same, and again try his skill. But his hopes deceived him. The British Admiral had no such design. For although this manœuvre was the only one which would enable him to keep up with the enemy the next day, it was neglected. His lights were extinguished at eleven o'clock at night, that his fleet might not be seen by that enemy from which he intended *ignominiously to fly*. And accordingly he suffered his fleet to fall in the rear of the French at day-break. And although they were within sight he tacked, *ingloriously fled from an inferior enemy, and took refuge in Plymouth*.

Such are the important facts—such is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, when undisguised by the arts of designing men.—Upon these facts then let impartial Britons decide, whether there is not demonstration itself, that the Admiral intended from the beginning to *betray his country to the intrigues of his faction*.

The time has been when Britons inquired who *fought*, and who did not *fight*. Upon these circumstances only, the *proweßs* or the *treachery* of their servants was decided. The Romans would not trust, a second time, even an *unfortunate General*;—and a *Byng* was executed only for an *error in judgment*. Such has been the public virtue of Romans and Britons. But now diffi-
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pated luxurious Britons have lost the virtue and sagacity of their ancestors, and, misled by faction, *know not what they do.*

For on account of this inglorious conduct, through the infamous arts of that junto, who impudently stile themselves *Patriots*, the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated, the Admiral carried in triumph through them, and the thanks of the nation, the highest reward of the *virtuous and the brave*, were prostituted to the betrayer of his country; while that gallant officer, who *fought* in his country's cause a greatly superior force, until his ship was utterly disabled, has been falsely accused, his public fame infamously traduced, and his house destroyed by the misguided rage of his deluded fellow-citizens. The most precious gift in the power of Britons to bestow, has been so infamously prostituted to reward the *coward* or the *traitor*, that the *brave* and the *loyal* will esteem it hereafter a dishonour to accept it. *O tell it not within the walls of the H—e of C—ns! nor ever let it be remembered in the Isle of Great Britain.*

F I N I S.

